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THE MOUNTAIN OF NIDA: AN EPISODE OF THE ALEXANDER LEGEND

MANY years ago while reading Mite Kremnitz's *Rumänische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1882), I came across a *motif* which I had never seen before in popular tales, and for which I could find no analogue. I wrote to Dr. Köhler, the learned librarian of the Ducal Library at Weimar, and he replied that he thought he would be able to send me a parallel, but before he did so death silenced that oracle which for many years had been consulted by scholars of every country, and never consulted in vain. Later I wrote to Dr. Johannes Bolte, of Berlin, on whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of Köhler, but before his answer came I discovered the probable source of my mysterious *märchen* while searching for the source of one of Boccaccio's *novelle*. When Bolte's reply arrived it contained another parallel, which with the one I found myself are the only ones I have yet been able to discover. I shall give the Rumanian story presently, and will content myself at this moment with saying that it is connected with an episode in the Oriental legends concerning Alexander the Great. It would be very interesting, did time permit, to examine the legends of Alexander found in mediaeval *exempla*, of which I have collected a large number, but I must now confine myself to those episodes in the Alexander-legend with which the Rumanian story is connected.¹

¹ Bibliographical Note: There is an exhaustive general bibliography of the subject in M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, section 540, pp. 894-898, "Geschichte Alexander's M." See also I. Lévi, *Revue des Études Juives*, I., pp. 293-300.

The work which has been the most useful to me in the preparation of this paper is Wilhelm Hertz's admirable essay on "Aristoteles im Mittelalter," origi-

Among the many legendary exploits of Alexander the Great the most interesting perhaps is his "Journey into the Land of Darkness in Quest of the Water of Life." The story first appears in the "Letter of Alexander to his mother Olympias and his preceptor Aristotle," which is found in certain versions of the fabulous history of Alexander ascribed to an author known as Pseudo-Callisthenes, and written about A. D. 200.² In this Letter Alexander recounts the wonders which he has seen in his travels in India.

nally published in the *Abhandlungen der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. Klasse*, XIX, 1 (1899), and reprinted with considerable additions by the author in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen von Wilhelm Hertz, herausgegeben von Friedrich von der Leyen*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 1-155. I have seen myself all the important texts cited in my paper and referred to by Hertz. I have also consulted the following general works: G. Favre, *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire*, Geneva, 1856, vol. II, pp. 5-184, "Recherches sur les histoires fabuleuses d'Alexandre le Grand," and Dario Carraroli, *La leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, Turin-Palermo, 1892.

Through the courtesy of the Cleveland Public Library (John G. White Folklore Collection) I have been able to see: F. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*, Leipzig, 1851, and L. Donath, *Die Alexandersage in Talmud und Midrasch*, Fulda, 1873, of which Steinschneider speaks unfavorably, but they do not add much to the later works cited above, or to the articles in the *Revue des Études Juives* and *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* cited in note 6.

For "The Water of Life" I have consulted Auguste Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, Leipzig, 1905, and Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913 and 1915, No. 57, "The Golden Bird," and No. 97, "The Water of Life." See also the article of Ethé cited in note 5. Of great interest and importance is I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadschirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig-Berlin, Teubner, 1913. He does not mention the episode of the "Mountain of Nida."

The texts which I have used are enumerated in notes 5 and 6.

² The Greek text of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was first edited by Karl Müller in 1877 from three MSS. in the National Library at Paris: *Arriani Anabasis et Indica ex optimo codice Parisino emendavit . . . Fr. Dübner . . . Pseudo-Callisthenis historiam fabulosam ex tribus codicibus nunc primum editit Carolus Müller, Parisiis, Didot*. The Letter alone had been published by Berger de Xivry (from two of the MSS. used by Müller: 1685, Ancien Fonds, and 113 du Supplément) in his *Traditions tératologiques*, Paris, 1836. A fourth version of the Letter from a Leyden MS. is in *Pseudo-Callisthenes, nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben von H. Meusel*, in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, V, iv, 1871. In my abstract from the Letter I follow Weismann's German version of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, chaps, 39, 40, 41 (*Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung . . . von Dr. Heinrich Weismann*, Frankfurt am Main, 1850, vol. II, pp. 132-138). This is the C version.

In the course of his journey he reaches a plain, divided by a gorge which he bridges, and sets up an inscription stating that Alexander and his entire army crossed there to reach the end of the world, as Providence had determined. Three days later they arrived at a place where the sun did not shine; there is the Land of the Blessed. Alexander determined to delay the completion of his camp, and, leaving behind him his infantry together with the old men and women, to explore and examine that region with a band of chosen youths. Kallisthenes, one of his friends, advised him, however, to march into the land with forty friends, one hundred youths and twelve hundred soldiers. Alexander did so and commanded that no old man should follow him.⁸ One curious old man, however, who had two valiant sons, staunch soldiers, said to them, "My children, listen to your father and take me with you, and I shall be found not unworthy on the journey; for I know that in the time of danger an old man will be sought, and if you then have me with you you will be highly honored by the king. In order, however, not to be discovered, as breakers of his command and put to death, shave my head and beard, and when my whole appearance is thus changed I will go with you and at the right time be of great service to you." They did as their father ordered and took the old man with them.

So they marched with Alexander and found an obscure place which they could not penetrate on account of the impassable roads. So they pitched their tents there and the next day Alexander took a thousand soldiers and penetrated the land with them in order to discover whether the end of the world was there. When he had entered the land he saw a brighter space to the left and marched through desert and rocky regions until midday. This time of day he did not perceive by the sun, but measured the way by a line according to geometry and so knew the time. Afterwards, however, Alexander became fearful and turned back, because the way was impassable. When he emerged from that region he wished to march to the right, for it was a plain, but dark and gloomy. Alexander himself was now perplexed, for none of the youths advised him to penetrate into the dark land, for fear that when the stallions were exhausted by the darkness of the long way, they

⁸ The story of the old man taken by his son on the expedition into the Land of Darkness is of course connected with the widely spread theme of an old man concealed in spite of some law, who aids his son and the state by his ripe experience. For extensive references see Köhler's *Kleinere Schriften*, II, p. 324, "Eine römische Sage (von der Tötung der Greise)," and Bolte's edition of Jacob Frey's *Gartengesellschaft, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 209, Tübingen, 1896, p. 262, notes to No. 129. Some Slavic parallels are given by G. Polivka in the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, VIII, pp. 25-29.

would be unable to return. So Alexander spoke to them: "O brave soldiers, you have all learned in our wars that nothing good can be accomplished without advice and discretion. For if an old man should come along, he would advise us how now to penetrate into the Land of Darkness. Let therefore some brave man of you return to the camp and bring me an old man, and he shall receive much gold from me." But there was no one of them found to do this, on account of the distance and darkness. Then the sons of the old man drew near and said to him: "If you will hear us patiently, O king, we will tell you something," King Alexander replied: "Say what you will, for I swear by the Providence of heaven that I will do you no harm." Then they told him about their father and ran and brought the old man before him. When Alexander saw him he welcomed him and asked him for his advice. The old man said: "You can see, O king Alexander, that if the horses have gone away, you will not behold the light again. Therefore choose the mares which have foals, and leave the foals here, we will penetrate the land with the mares and they will bring us back here again."

Alexander sought among all the horses which he had with him and found only a hundred mares with foals. So he took these and a hundred other chosen ones and likewise very many to carry the provisions, and so penetrated into the land according to the advice of the old man, leaving the foals behind. The old man commanded his sons to gather and put in their sacks what they found on the ground after they had penetrated into the country. With Alexander marched three hundred and sixty soldiers and they advanced fifteen *schoinoi*⁴ on a dark road. There they saw a spot and near it a clear spring, the water of which gleamed like lightning, but the air was fragrant and delicious.

As King Alexander was hungry and wanted something to eat he summoned his cook, Andreas by name, and ordered him to prepare food. The cook took a dried fish and went to the transparent water of the spring to wash the fish. When, however, it was shaken in the water, it became at once alive and slipped from the hands of the cook. The cook told no one what had happened, but took some of the water in a silver vessel and preserved it. The whole region had plenty of water and all drank of it and took food. After they had eaten, Alexander marched thirty *schoinoi* further and beheld a brightness without sun, moon or stars, and discovered three birds which had the faces of men, and called to him in Greek from on high: "The land on which you are treading, O Alexander, belongs

⁴A measure said by Herodotus to equal sixty stadia, by others, forty or thirty; forty-five stadia make a geographical mile.

to God alone; turn back, unhappy man, for thou canst not enter the Land of the Blessed. So turn back and spare thy pains." Alexander trembled and obeyed at once the voice of the birds. The other bird, however, addressed him again: "The East calls you, O Alexander, and the kingdom of Porus will be subject to you through victory." After it had spoken thus the bird flew away. Alexander, however, after he had reconciled himself to the divine Providence, ordered Antiochus to announce to the soldiers: "Let each one take home with him whatever he will, be it stone or dirt or wood." To some it seemed good to do so, to others the words of Alexander seemed idle talk. On the march Alexander said to Philo: "Dismount and take with you what falls into your hands." Philo dismounted and found, as it seemed, an ordinary useless stone. He picked it up and rode on with Alexander. Many of the soldiers took from the neighboring forest, which was there, whatever they found. But especially the sons of the old man, in accordance with their father's command, filled their sacks so that they could scarcely march. Alexander, however, with the guides, sending the mares ahead, marched in the direction of the constellation of the Great Bear, and following the voices of the mares, he emerged from the land in a few days. So they came out of the land covered with everlasting night.

When they came to the light where the other soldiers were and looked at each other, they saw that they had pearls and precious stones. Then those who had brought back nothing with them regretted it, and those who had, all thanked Alexander and the old man for their good advice. Philo, however, took the stone to Alexander and it was all glittering gold.

Now the cook also related how the fish had become alive. Then was Alexander angry and commanded the cook to be severely beaten. The cook, however, said to him: "What good will it do you to be sorry for what has already happened?" He did not say that he had drunk of the water or that he had preserved some. This the cook could not make up his mind to confess, only that the fish had come to life again. The wicked cook, however, went to Alexander's daughter who was born of the concubine Une and named Kale, and seduced her by promising to give her to drink of the water from the Well of Life, and so he did.

When Alexander learned this he envied them their immortality, and calling his daughter to him said to her: "Take thy clothing and begone, for lo thou hast become a divine being, since thou art immortal; thou shalt be called Nereis, since through water hast thou won immortality, and in water shalt thou dwell." Weeping and lamenting she went forth from his presence and departed to the

demons in the wilderness. Alexander then ordered the cook to be thrown into the sea with a stone hanged about his neck. The cook became a demon and dwelt in a part of the sea named from him the Andreantic sea. Thus it happened to the cook and the maiden. Alexander believed from this token that the end of the world was there. When they reached the bridge which Alexander had built, he had another inscription carved upon it: "Those who wish to enter the Land of the Blessed must take the road to the right."⁸

⁸ For Andreas and Alexander's daughter, see Friedlaender, *Die Chadhir-
legende und der Alexanderroman*, pp. 107, 301-302. The episode of the Land
of Darkness and the Water of Life is not found in *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, ver-
sion A (Paris MS., 1711), nor in Julius Valerius (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*). It
is not in Leo's *Historia de Preliis*, nor in the Latin Letter of Alexander (ed.
Kuebler, *Julii Valerii . . . res gestae Alexandri . . .* Leipzig, 1888; ed. Pfister,
Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman in Sammlung Vulgärlatein. Texte). It is
not in the Syriac version of *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (*The History of Alexander the
Great being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, etc., by E. A. W. Budge,
Cambridge, 1889). It is not in the Ethiopic version of the *History of the Jews*
by Joseph Ben Gorion, in E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander
the Great*, London, 1896, pp. 403-428. It is not in the Spanish poem attributed to
Juan Lorenzo Segura, which is based upon Julius Valerius, *Epitome, Epistola
Alexandri*, and *Liber de Preliis*, see *Romania*, IV, pp. 7-90, A. Morel-Fatio,
"Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre." The Spanish
work is now best found in A. Morel-Fatio, *El Libro de Alexandre*, MS. Esp.
488, de la Bib. Nat. de Paris, Dresden, 1906, *Gesellschaft für Rom. Lit.*, Bd. 10.
It is not in *I nobili Fatti di Alessandro Magno* (Collezione di opere inedite o
rare, ed. G. Grion, 1872). Finally, it is not in Lamprecht's *Alexander*.

The episode of the Land of Darkness and the Water of Life is, on the
other hand, found in the following versions: 1. *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, version L
(Leyden MS. God. Vulcanii 93), version B (Paris MS. 1685, Berger de Xivrey,
p. 367), version C (Paris MS. Suppl. 113, Berger de Xivrey, p. 343); 2. *Metrical
Discourse of Jacob of Serugh*, in Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*,
pp. lxxxii, 170-175; 3. The Ethiopic version, in Budge, *The Life and Exploits
of Alexander the Great*, pp. 261, 268, 271; 4. *The History of Alexander the
Great* by Abu Shaker, in Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*,
pp. 396 et seq.; 5. *The History of Alexander . . . A Christian Romance*,
Ethiopic, in Budge, *The Life and Exploits*, etc., pp. 481-483; 6. Theban-Coptic
version of the *Romance of Alexander*, see Budge, *The History of Alexander the
Great*, p. cx; 7. G. Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1915,
pp. 290-303, "Fragments of the Theban-Coptic version of the Romance of Alex-
ander," p. 303, contain the episode of the Land of Darkness, the MS. is incom-
plete and the Water of Life is lacking; 8. *The Hebrew Romance of Alexander*,
translated by M. Gaster, is in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great
Britain and Ireland*, 1897 (N. S. xxix), Article XIX, "An old Hebrew Romance
of Alexander. Translated from Hebrew MSS. of the twelfth century," pp.
485-549; 9. Arabic version in Dr. G. Weil, *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud*,

We have seen in the above form of the Alexander-legend that the soldiers gathered gold and precious stones in the Land of Darkness, but the episode of the "Wonderstone" does not occur in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* and its various translations, and is also lacking

or, *Biblical Legends of the Musselmans*. Translated from the German, New York, 1846, p. 93; 10. The Persian version in Carmoly, *Contes, Récits Chaldéens*, Bruxelles, 1837, extracts translated by Weismann in his edition of Lamprecht's *Alexander*, vol. II, pp. 507-508; 11. A modern Indian version, in *Oral Tradition from the Indus*. By Major J. F. A. McNair and T. L. Barlow, 1908, Brighton; 12. Persian version in *Le livre des rois par Abou' lkassim Firdousi traduit et commenté par Jules Mohl*, Paris, 1877, vol. V, pp. 79-212. See also J. Görres, *Das Heldenbuch von Iran. Aus dem Schah Nameh des Firdussi*, Berlin, 1820, vol. II, pp. 529-556; 13. Persian version in Nizâmi, *The Sikandar Nâma e Barî* . . . translated by H. W. Clarke, London, 1881, pp. 785-809. The episode of the Land of Darkness and Water of Life is translated and commented upon by Dr. Hermann Ethé, "Alexanders Zug zum Lebensquell im Land des Finsterniss," in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philolog. und hist. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wiss. zu München*, Bd. I. Jahrg., 1871, pp. 343-405; 14. Persian version in *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*, Oct., 1777, vol. I, pp. 7-52; 15. Old-French version in *Li Romans d'Alexandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay*, edited by Michelant in *Stuttgart Lit. Vereins*, vol. xiii, 1846. The episode of the Water of Life, not Land of Darkness, is found in pp. 329-335. See analysis in P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, vol. II, *Histoire de la légende*. This should be supplemented by the same author's *Étude sur les manuscrits du Roman d'Alexandre in Romania*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 213-332; 16. Old-French version in *L'Histoire d'Alexandre de Jean de Wauquelin*. Inedited, see Meyer, last work cited, p. 313 et seq. The Fountain of Life is in this version, see Meyer, p. 325, also p. 219, "II. Le récit interpolé du voyage d'Alexandre au Paradis"; 17. Spanish version in *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid por F. Guillén Robles*. Zaragoza, 1888 (*Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses, Seccion Literaria, Tomo V*), *Leyenda de Iskender Dulcarnain o Alejandro Magno*, pp. 135-282. The episode of the Land of Darkness, etc., is in *Capitolo V*, pp. 163-173.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE VARIOUS INCIDENTS IN THE ABOVE VERSIONS OF THE ALEXANDER-LEGEND

1. Pseudo-Callisthenes:

Land of Darkness: L. B. C.
Old men, mares: L. C.
Fountain of Life: L. B. C.
Fish: L. B. C.

2. Jacob of Serugh:

Land of Darkness.
Old men, she-asses.
Fountain of Life.
Fish.

in a considerable number of mediaeval and modern versions. It is generally connected with the "Journey to Paradise," as is the case in the *Iter ad Paradisum*, twelfth century, or with the "Water

3. Ethiopic Version:

Land of Darkness (illuminating stone).
Fountain of Life, Fish.
(Wonderstone.)

4. Abu Shâker:

Land of Darkness.
Mares.

5. Christian Romance:

Water of Life.
Fish.

6. Theban-Coptic Romance:

Land of Darkness.
Mares.

7. Hebrew Romance (ed. Gaster):

Birds come to life in water of river.
Servant drinks of water; Alexander not.
(Wonderstone.)

8. Arabic (Weil):

Fountain of Life.
Al-Kidhr anticipates Alexander.

9. Persian:

(a) Firdausi.

Land of Darkness.
Water of Life.

(b) Nizami.

Land of Darkness.
Old men, mares.
Illuminating jewel.
Water of Life.
Fish.

(c) Cardonne's Romance.

Water of Life.

(d) Carmoly's Romance.

Water of Life.
(Alexander cannot drink until he has found something to outweigh the Wonderstone.)

10. Indian (in *Oral Tradition from the Indus*):

Water of Life.
Mares that had recently foaled.
Alexander prevented from drinking by prophetic bird.

11. French:

(a) Lambert li Tors.

Water of Life.
(Wonderstone.)

of Life," as in the Babylonian Talmud, fifth century.⁶ Sometimes, however, it is found alone, as in an interesting group of five Old-

- (b) Jean de Vauquelin.
Fountain of Life.
(Wonderstone.)

12. Spanish *Leyenda de Alejandro*:
Land of Darkness.
Virgin mares.
Illuminating stone.
Water of Life.
(Wonderstone.)

⁶ Episode of the Wonderstone and the Journey to Paradise.

The Wonderstone is generally united with the Journey to Paradise, as is the case in the *Iter ad Paradisum*, twelfth century, or with the Water of Life, as in the Babylonian Talmud, *Tractate Tamid*, fifth century. Sometimes it is found alone, as in a group of five Old-French MSS. of the thirteenth century. The Wonderstone is an apple in one of the Old-French versions, see *Romania*, XI, 228-244, and Hertz, p. 75.

The Wonderstone is not in (a) *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, (b) Latin translation Julius Valerius, (c) Armenian translation, (d) Syriac translation, (e) Theban-Coptic Romance, (f) or Joseph ben Gorion. It is also lacking in a considerable number of mediæval and modern versions, for which see Hertz, pp. 99-100.

The Wonderstone as a separate episode, not connected with the Water of Life or Journey to Paradise, is found, as has been said above, in a group of five Old-French MSS. of the thirteenth century of the *Romans d'Alexandre* (*Romania*, XI, 213), First Interpolation. As it is brief I will give the substance of it here.

"As Alexander was returning to Babylon from his visit to Candace, he saw on the road a human eye sparkling on a stone. He showed it to his Master Aristotle, who was riding by his side, and the latter said: 'Never have I seen so weighty a thing. All that you have conquered with your sword cannot outweigh it.' Alexander would not believe him and wanted to see the proof. Aristotle dismounted and had a large balance brought. In one scale he laid the eye, in the other hauberks and helmets, but the cords broke before the scale with the eye was raised. All were amazed. Then Aristotle covered the eye with a bit of Persian silk (symbol of covering the dead body), put it in a small jeweler's balance and it was outweighed by a couple of besants. 'Learn,' said Aristotle to the king, 'what this little object teaches you. When you have conquered one kingdom, you do not rest until you have subdued a second, and after that a third and fourth. So the eye covets all that it sees, until it is covered with the shroud.' This admonition they all took to heart. Then Aristotle mounted his Spanish courser, and they continued their journey."

The Wonderstone is usually found in connection with the Journey to Paradise and the Water of Life. The following are the most interesting versions: 1. *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, Second Interpolation (*Romania*, XI, 228-244, not in Michelant). This is, on the whole, the most interesting of all the versions of the story. 2. *Les Faits des Romains* (Hertz, p. 78; P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, vol. II,

French MSS. of the thirteenth century. I shall consider the earliest versions first, beginning with the Talmud, *Tractate Tamid* (Hertz, p. 82).

358, cf. *I Fatti di Cesare*, Bologna, 1873, pp. 116 et seq.). 3. Hebrew version in Babylonian Talmud, *Tractate Tamid* (Hertz, p. 82). This version I have given at length in the body of my paper above. Versions of the Talmud story are found in: S. Hurwitz, *Hebrew Tales*, Boston, 1845, p. 79, "Alexander and the Human Skull." The object is said to be "the socket of a human eye, which though small in compass, is yet unbounded in its desires." Tendlau, *Das Buch der Sagen und Legenden Jüdischer Vorzeit*, Stuttgart, 1842, p. 47, X, "Alexander, der Macedonier, vor der Pforte des Gan Eden." The object is a skull, but p. 48, "Des Menschen Aug," antworteten sie, "die Menschen Aug von Fleisch und Blut hat nie genug." G. Levi, *Parabole, Leggende e Pensieri raccolti dai libri talmudici dei primi cinque secoli dell' E. V.*, Florence, 1861, p. 218, "Alessandro il Grande ossia l'ambizione." The object is "un pezzo d'un teschio di morto," p. 220, "questo frammento d'osso è quel che rinchiude l'occhio umano, il quale, quantunque limitato nel volume, è illimitato ne' desiderii." This description of the object rests on a misunderstanding according to I. Levi, in *Revue des Études Juives*, II, 298, No. 3, "Eisenmenger avait traduit ce mot 'Totenkopf,' confondant le mot Gulgoleth (skull) with Gôlgoleth." Levi translates, "Ils lui donnèrent un globe." The following articles in periodicals have been consulted by me: *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. II, pp. 293-300, "La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud," by Israel Lévi. This article discusses two extracts from the Talmud, *Tamid*, 32, one contains the ten questions addressed by Alexander to the "Wise men of the South," the other is the extract given in my paper. The same author has two other articles in the same periodical: Vol. III, pp. 238-275, "Les traductions hébraïques de l'histoire légendaire d'Alexandre," of no interest for my present purpose; vol. VII, pp. 78-93, "La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch," p. 82, the journey of Alexander to the Land of Darkness, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Breslau, Bd. V (1866), pp. 121-134, 161-178, "Beiträge zur Alexander-sage," by Dr. H. Vogelstein. A general survey of the various legends and discussion of origins. Finally, in this connection, I may mention J. A. Eisenmenger's curious work, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Königsberg, 1711, vol. II, p. 321, chap. v, "Was die Juden von dem Paradeis schreiben und lehren." The passage is a translation of the *Tractate Tamid*, which has been given above. The object is a "Totenkopf." I shall now return to the versions containing the Wonderstone: 4. *Iter ad Paradisum. Alexandri Magni Iter ad Paradisum, ex codd. MSS. Latinis primus edidit Julius Zacher*. Regiomonti Pr. 1859. This little (pp. 32) work is now very scarce, but a reprint may be found in Karl Kinzel's edition of Lamprecht's *Alexander*, Halle a. S. 1884. A résumé of the *Iter* is given in the body of my paper above. 5. Lamprecht's *Alexander*. The best edition now is Lamprecht's *Alexander, nach den drei Texten mit dem Fragment des Alberic von Besançon und den Lateinischen Quellen herausgegeben von Karl Kinzel*, Halle a. S. 1884. The Wonderstone episode is ll. 6589-7302, the text of the Latin *Iter ad Paradisum* is at the bottom of the page. Instead of putting the earth on the stone, the poet has it put in the other scale on a feather.

Alexander came to a spring; he sat down and ate bread. He had in his hands a salt fish. While he was washing it it became alive again. Then he exclaimed: "This water comes from Paradise." According to some he took of the water and washed his face; according to others he went up the stream until he reached the gate of Paradise. He lifted up his voice: "Open the gate to me!" Those within answered: "This is God's gate; only the righteous enter here." He said to them: "I, too, am a king. I am highly esteemed. Give me some present!" They gave him a

This is also the case in two other Oriental versions: Arabic version in Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VIII, 278, passage in question is reprinted in Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 271; and in Ethiopic version of *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, in Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 271. 5. Jacob van Maerlant (Hertz, p. 109) in his *Alexanders Geesten* gives the following remarkable form of the legend: "From Taprobane and the land of the Makrobier, Alexander sailed with his followers in search of other lands. They voyaged through deep darkness until they beheld in the distance a structure like a castle, gleaming like gold. It was the Earthly Paradise. What appeared like gold were fiery walls. Alexander paused before the rock which pierced the clouds. A voice called to him from on high: 'Alexander!' He answered: 'Do they know about me up there? Who is it? To whom does the land belong?' The voice called back: 'This land belongs to the same lord who has given you the whole world with so great honor; in his power is your life also.' Alexander cried: 'What will you throw down to me as a token that I have been here?' Then the speaker dropped a stone, the like of which was not to be found on earth. 'This is your tribute from the Earthly Paradise. Now be wise and seek no further, but fare home to your country. There you will soon learn how your life shall end.' Thereupon the speaker withdrew his head from (the opening in the) wall. Alexander returned home with the wonderful stone in his hand, which shone as brightly as the sun. When it was laid in the balance it was heavier than all riches which could be heaped up in the other scale; but a little earth outweighed it. It was shaped like a human eye. That meant that as long as Alexander lived he was more than all the wealth of the world; when, however, a man dies a little bit of earth is as good and much better than he." Hertz says, p. 109, "Nach dieser merkwürdigen Umbildung der Sage, bezeichnet also der Wunderstein das eine Mal den lebenden, das andere Mal den toten Alexander. . . . In der Rezension der Sage, welcher der arabische und äthiopische Text, sowie Maerlant folgt, hat die Deutung eine andere Wendung bekommen: der Stein ist das Sinnbild menschlicher Macht und Grosse, die durch den Tod allen ihren Wert verliert."

It is not necessary to go into any further versions. Ulrich von Eschenbach, Hertz, p. 111, has two versions of the legend; in one the eye means man who is never satiated, the stone is not weighed; in the other version, it is weighed and a little sand put with it in the scale is outweighed by a feather. "The stone signifies your power, which nothing equals until you come to the grave, then a feather is as valuable as you." From this on, all the remaining versions know only the later signification of the simile of the frailty of human worth.

ball. He went and weighed all his gold and silver against it, but it could not outweigh it. Then he spoke to the rabbis: "What is that?" They said: "That is an eye-ball, made of flesh and blood, that is never satiated." He said: "Who proves this?" Then they took a little dust and covered it with it. At once it was outweighed. For it is said: "Hell and destruction are never full; so the eyes of man are never satisfied" (Proverbs, 27, 20).

Turning now to the *Iter ad Paradisum*, I shall give the résumé by Hertz, pp. 84-89.

After the conquest of India, Alexander laden with booty marched forward slowly to give his army rest. He came to a broad stream, which, he was told, was the Ganges (also called Physon), and had its source in Paradise. The roofs of the houses were covered with gigantic leaves, which the inhabitants fished out of the stream with long poles. When they were dried in the sun and rubbed to powder they emitted a wonderful odor. When Alexander heard of Paradise, he said with a sigh: "I have attained nothing in this world if I do not partake of this bliss." He immediately chose from the youth of his army five hundred of the bravest and most enduring and embarked with them in a broad, well equipped ship.

They journeyed upstream a month, until the strength of the youths began to flag before the force of the rapid stream, and they were deafened by the frightful roar of the water. Finally, on the thirty-fourth day they saw something like a city of wonderful size and extent. They rowed with an effort three days to the walls, which had no towers or bulwarks and were so overgrown with moss that one could not see the joints of the stones. At last, they beheld a little, narrow window, and Alexander had some of his people row there in a boat. At their knocking a man drew the bolt and asked in a gentle voice who and whence they were and what they sought. They replied: "We are the messengers, not of an ordinary prince, but of the king of kings, the invincible Alexander, whom all the world obeys. He wishes to know what people live here and which king rules them; and commands you, if your life is dear to you, to pay him tribute like all the rest of the nations." The man, however, replied with a cheerful countenance and mild words: "Do not exert yourselves with threats, but wait patiently until I return." He closed the window and almost two hours elapsed before he opened it again. He handed them a jewel of wonderful brightness and unusual color, in form and size like a human eye. "The inhabitants of this place offer to you," so

he bid them announce to their king, "a souvenir of a wonderful experience, whether you accept it as a gift or as a tribute that is due. From love of mankind we send you this stone which can set a limit to your covetousness. For when you learn its nature and power, you will henceforth renounce all ambition. Know also that it is not for your good to linger longer here. Even in a slight storm you would surely meet death in shipwreck. Rejoin your companions and show yourselves not ungrateful to the God of gods for the favors you have received!" Thereupon he closed the window. They rowed back and Alexander, weighing with wise mind the meaning of the words, hastened back to the camp of his troops who greeted him with joy.

He returned to Susa and summoned secretly the wisest of the Jews and heathen in order to have explained to him the nature of the stone. They could only praise his good fortune and power and put him off with empty words. He hid his dissatisfaction and dismissed them with royal presents. Now there lived in the city an infirm old Jew named Papas, who, when he wanted to leave his house, had to be carried in a litter by two servants. He heard from his friends of the king's perplexity and had himself carried to him. Alexander, who liked to talk confidentially with the old, received him with deference and turned the conversation on the adventure which he had encountered. Papas raised his hands to heaven and congratulated the king upon having penetrated to that city, which thus far all had attempted in vain and to their harm. Then Alexander opened his hand and showed him the stone. The Jew examined it and recognized its nature, and, as the eyes are easier to convince than the ears, he had a balance brought. He laid the stone in one scale, and in the other as many gold pieces as they could get together; but the stone outweighed them all. Then he asked for a larger balance and had many hundred weight of gold put on it, but the stone made the scale kick the beam.

When Alexander could scarce contain his amazement, the old man laid the stone again in the smaller balance, covered it with a little dust, and now it was outweighed by a single gold piece, even by a feather. Then Papas explained to the king in a lengthy discourse that in the place which he had taken for a city the souls of the righteous await the day of the resurrection of the body in order after the Last Judgment to reign forever with their creator; that they had given him the stone in order to silence his ambition, for the stone is the eye of man which is not to be satiated by gold until it is covered with earth. "*Te igitur, o bone rex, te, inquam, moderatorem totius prudentiae, te victorem regum, te possessorem regnorum, lapis iste praefiguratur, te monet, te increpat, te substantia*

exilis compescit ab appetitu vilissimae ambitionis!" Alexander embraced and kissed the old man and overwhelmed him with royal gifts. From that time on he renounced ambition and marched to Babylon, where he rewarded richly his soldiers and dismissed them, living in peace and quiet to the end of his days.

I have now considered very briefly three of the most interesting episodes of the Alexander-legend: the Land of Darkness and the mode of exploring it by newly-foaled mares; the Water of Life and its recognition by the revivification of a salted fish; and the Wonderstone, a powerful allegory of the insatiability of man's ambition while life lasts. All these episodes occur in many forms in oriental and occidental literature, and are more or less connected with each other, although they sometimes have an independent existence. I have now to examine a fourth episode, the Mountain of Nida, which occurs in three versions only, two of them Persian and the third Rumanian,—all three apparently without any connection with each other, and quite unknown to students of the Alexander-legend. I said at the beginning of this paper that my attention was directed to it by the Rumanian version, and that I had consulted Dr. Reinhold Köhler in regard to it. His death prevented his answering my inquiry; but Dr. Johannes Bolte cited one parallel, the older Persian one, and I had myself stumbled upon the second Persian version while investigating the source of one of Boccaccio's *novelle* (*Decameron*, X, 3, The Story of Mitridanes and Natan). I cannot understand how so striking a story should have escaped the notice of students, or how it should occur in occidental literature only in the form of the Rumanian *märchen*. I shall proceed as I have done above by considering the oldest form first.

The famous Persian poet, Nizami, was born at Nakrash in the province of Kum in A. H. 535, and died at Ganja, a town of Arran (the modern Elizabethopol, in Azarbijan), A. H. 599 (A. D. 1195), at the age of sixty-three and a half. We are now concerned only with his poem on Alexander the Great, *The Sikandar Nâma, e barâ, i. e.*, The Book of Alexander the Great, relating his Adventures as a Conqueror by Land. The second part of this work, *The Sikandar Nâma, e bahrî*, or Book of Alexander the Great, relating

his Adventures, as a Sage and a Prophet, by Sea, does not contain anything for my present purpose. I shall pass over the Persian poet's account of Alexander's birth, education and conquests, in the first part, and come at once to the sixty-eighth canto, "Sikandar's becoming desirous of the Water of Life, on hearing of its qualities." I shall use the translation by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke, London, 1881.⁷

There is nothing for my purpose until Canto LXVIII, "Sikandar's becoming desirous of the Water of Life, on hearing of its qualities," pp. 785-798; Canto LXIX, "Sikandar's going into the Zulmat in Search of the Water of Life," pp. 798-809; Canto LXX, "Sikandar's coming forth from the Darkness (Dark Land)," pp. 809-818.

These cantos contain:

Alexander's journey in quest of the Water of Life, the leaving behind all old and sick persons. One young man takes with him his old father concealed in a chest, who proposes the device of the swift mare whose first colt has been killed at a certain spot, and which will wish to return there speedily. The jewel that reveals the Fountain of Life to Khizr. The dry salted fish that falls into the fountain and becomes alive. Alexander does not drink of the fountain. On his return hopeless an angel gives him a stone "less than a groat," saying, "Keep this stone dear to thyself. Of the tumult of so much desire, verily, thou mayst become sated only with something equal in weight to this." The trial of the stone. After this the king holds an assembly (LXX, p. 812), at which is discussed the king's failure to obtain the Water of Life. An old man thus speaks (35): "If he seek the water of life, for the purpose / That he may obtain safety from Death's grasp, / In this land (outside of the mountains of Zulmat) is a city sufficiently prosperous, / In which no one ever dies, / In that city, a mountain loftily extended;⁸ / By it, . . . the men of the city become city-bound (so that they cannot on that side move out) / At every period of time, issues from the mountain . . . a noise, / At which awe comes to the hearer. / It calls one of the men by name, / Saying:— O certain one! arise; move proudly towards the height! / The

⁷ *The Sikander Nāma e Barā, or Book of Alexander the Great*, written A.D. 1200. By Abu Muhammad Bin Yusuf Bin Mu, Ayyid-I-Nizamu-'d-Din. Translated for the first time out of the Persian into prose . . . by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke. London, 1881.

⁸ The mountain is not named in Nizami's poem.

hearer at that sound (of death) causing order to be accepted, / Becomes not a moment ease-taker; / Hastens from the low ground to the height; / No answer comes from him (the ascender) to the inquirer. / He becomes invisible behind the mountain; / Of that difficulty none knows the key. / If the king desire his body safe from death, / It is doubtless proper to go to that city."

Alexander is astonished at this story and sends some of his councillors to bring the truth of the old man's speech to him (p. 814, 51). "The counsel-accepters of the King's counsel / Sought the road to the deathless city: / hastened with joy into that city; / Made a place of ease in a pleasant place. / The news of that city, known and unknown, / Was such as that venerable old man said. / At every period of time, a voice from the mountain / Used to reach the name of one of that region. / When the hearer used to hear his own name, / He used with pleasure to hasten towards that mountain: / Used to become so impatient in running / that he would not go far from that path for (to avoid) the sword. / The King's guards devised schemes (for discovery): / (But) they recognized not the notes of that sound. / When the sphere, the revolver, for a while revolved, / The sun travelled some stages (the sun passed from mansion to mansion). / Of the King's footmen, Time's revolution / Became the teacher of one for going (to the mountain). / Of those mystery-seeking, secretly-examining (unknown to the people of the city), / The hidden voice called one to the mountain. / The one who heard his own name quickly arose; / Went with ample stride towards the hidden voice of the mountain. / With the hand his friends seized his skirt, / Saying:—"Exercise delay for a while in running. /" It is not proper that the runner should be distraught; / "The secret of this screen may, perhaps, be revealed." / The hastener considered not (their holding him) profitable to himself; / He expressed a cry; and displayed anger: / Something which was of use uttered he. / In moving became like the restless sky: / Freed himself by much artifice and violence; / Became a wanderer from them like a flying ant. / At him his friends were astonished; / From him, every one took warning, / Saying: "In this expedition (to the city) wiser (more determined to disobey the mountain-voice) that we,— / "Behold how he went from us and unfolded not the mystery!" /

When over this event some time passed, / (And) the sun shone on mountain and plain, / Again the turn reached another friend; / He also in a moment became invisible. / The few men who were left / Read not one letter of that tablet (the mountain) of mystery. / They became fearers of that matter; / For the sky assisted none (of those sent, to return from the mountain). / Through their

own roadless state (of ignorance of that mystery) they came to the road / of returning, or of confessing); And came from that city to the king. / They represented the state, saying:—"Many of us / Went towards the mountain; none returned. / Neither was there (even) a little delay at the time of going; Nor also was there hope of returning. / We know not what the sound of that note is; / Who is the player of the instrument of that note, / When we recognized not the mystery of that sound, / From that sound,—behold we hastened!" / Some of us prepared for (agreed with the order of) the mountain; / From that mountain, a sound came not back. / When we saw that they took (to) the mountain (retirement-choosing), / We took (to) the plain; We came,—this troop. / Like this is the vault (of the sky) quickly-revolving, / On account of which, they (in death) take sometimes (to) the mountain, sometimes (to) the plain." / When Sikandar heard the mystery of the guards, / He beheld a road,—its returning invisible. / Then to him, used to come the wish by that road (of death),— / That (back) by it one departed (in death) had returned. / Through anger at that matter he remained disquieted, / Because no one read the lettering of that tale (of mystery). He learned that that sudden departing / Is for that one to whom the world (time) comes to an end. / He uttered a proverb:—"Everyone who was born died; / From death's grasp, none saved his life. / When they (the asses) have no power with (against) the wild ass catchers, / The asses (men) come on their own feet to the grave.

The next appearance of the Mountain of Nida is in the Persian *Romance of Hatim Taï*. We are not now concerned with the historical Hatim Taï who flourished in the latter half of the sixth century and was the chief of the tribe of Taï. He became renowned for his hospitality and a number of legends clustered about his name. His name and nothing else was borrowed by the author of the so-called *Adventures of Hatim Taï* translated from the Persian by Duncan Forbes for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1830.⁹

⁹ *The Adventures of Hatim Taï*. A Romance. Translated from the Persian by Duncan Forbes, A.M. London: Printed for the *Oriental Translation Fund*, 1830, 4to, pp. xl, 214. The episode of The Mountain of Nida is the Fifth Question propounded by Husn Banu (Forbes, p. 144), "Brave Hatim! the fifth task which I have to impose on you is, 'To bring me an account of the mountain called Nida.'" The quest of the mountain is contained in Book V, "Hatim's Journey to the Mountain of Nida" (Forbes, pp. 145-171).

The romance opens with an account of Hatim's genealogy and early life and generosity, and then abruptly turns to the fortunes of a maiden named Husn Banu, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. After her father's death she is robbed of her property by a knavish dervish, but is told in a dream where to find a great treasure. The wicked dervish is punished and Husn Banu builds a palace and entertains travellers in a lavish way. As she was young, beautiful and rich, she had many suitors and to escape their importunities her nurse suggests seven questions or tasks to be propounded to them, and her hand to be promised to the one who solved or accomplished the questions or tasks. The fifth of the seven questions is: "Let him bring an account of the Mountain of Nida."¹⁰ Among the numerous suitors of Husn Banu was Prince Munir, who started out to solve the first question. While wandering about he meets Hatim Tai, who undertakes to perform the task for him. Hatim first has an interview with Husn Banu, who promises to place her hand at his disposal in case he solves the questions. This he does and bestows the hand of Husn Banu on the prince whose labors he has performed. Hatim returns home and his father abdicates in his favor.

The fifth question or task is the only one which concerns us now and is as follows:

After six months of travel Hatim comes to a city with strange customs of burying the dead. Hatim relates his story and asks information of the mountain. "The governor was a man of years, and possessed of much information; he remembered, then, of having heard from the learned that a mountain of this name, of immense altitude, was situated towards the south in the regions of Zulmat (the regions of darkness, which are said to contain also the water of immortality). He informed Hatim of the same, and further, that there was a city close to the mountain of the same name, where the people were immortal; 'in these regions,' concluded he, 'diseases and death are unknown, nor is there a tomb to be seen in all the place.' On hearing this statement, Hatim was highly delighted, and said, 'Thither must I go as soon as possible.' 'But how,' rejoined his aged friend, 'can you go there alone and unattended?' 'God will be my guide,' replied Hatim.

"The governor then offered Hatim vast sums of gold and costly jewels, of which he accepted a small portion for defraying his expenses by the way; and having caused the rest to be distributed

¹⁰ Professor A. V. W. Jackson says in a private letter: "The word *Nida* is of Arab-Persian origin and means in those languages 'calling, proclaiming, sound, voice, . . . a call or voice from heaven.'"

among the poor, he resumed his journey." (After various adventures, Hatim came to a large and populous city and was conducted to the governor, p. 159.) "His highness received Hatim with due courtesy; and having requested him to be seated, said, 'Tell me, sir, of what country you are, and how came you hither? It is certain that no stranger has visited this city since the time of Alexander the Great, who traversed the whole of the inhabitable globe. May I ask, then, what has been the cause of your visit?'

"Hatim gave a full account of Husn Banu and the prince Munir, also what he had himself done up to that moment. When the ruler of the city heard this, he said to Hatim, 'Noble stranger, rest yourself here for some days, and you will learn enough of the mountain of Nida; for were I now to describe to you its mysteries, you could not comprehend them.' . . .

"One day while they were in conversation, Hatim asked one of them which was the mountain of Nida. The man pointed it out to him and said, 'That peak, whose summit penetrates the clouds, is the mountain of Nida.' Meanwhile a loud voice issued from the mountain and at that moment one of the men in the company all of a sudden became silent and thoughtful. Soon after he rose up; and, regardless of the numerous entreaties of his friends, he bent his (p. 160) course towards the mountain. His companions ran after him, but in vain; he spoke not a word, and with a pale countenance he quickened his pace to the mountain. Hatim followed among the rest, and said to them, 'My good friends, what has befallen the young man that he thus runs like a maniac he knows not whither?' 'His hour is arrived,' they replied, 'for the voice from the mountain exclaimed, "come quickly."' 'And whose voice is it,' said Hatim, 'that he should thus blindly obey it?' 'That,' they replied, 'is more than we know, you must ask himself.'

"Hatim ran with all his might till he overtook the devoted young man, whom he seized by the hand, and thus addressed, 'My dear friend, it is unkind, nay inhuman, to refuse the information I ask. Tell me, I beseech you, who is he that has called you to yonder mountain, and I will myself accompany you thither.' Hatim's entreaties were of no avail; the young man gave no answer, but drew away his hand from him, and ran swift as the wind towards the mountain. Hatim followed close after; but, when he was about half way, the mountain before him vanished from his sight. He stood in the utmost amazement, and cast his eyes in every direction, but no trace of Nida nor of the young man could he discover, he only saw in its place a large stone, possessing all the hues of the rainbow.

"Hatim in the utmost despair, returned towards the city, till he

met the people that had come out with him. These were assembled on the road; and when he reached them, they were performing some ceremony known to themselves. They thrice repeated a form of prayer with their faces turned towards the spot where the mountain had been; and this done, they returned to the city, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. On their return, the young man's friends and relatives, far from giving way to sorrow, prepared a feast, and entertained all the poor of the city; and after some time spent in mirth and joy, they returned to their usual occupations.

"Hatim, however, could not conceal his grief for the unfortunate young man who had disappeared so mysteriously. The people laughed at his sorrow, and said to him, 'Stranger, it is not our custom to give way to weeping and lamentation; we forgive you, however, this time; but if you are to reside among us, you must conform with our manners, otherwise we shall expel you hence.' Hatim accordingly restrained his grief, and resided among them for the space of six months, in which period ten or twelve people disappeared in a similar manner. In vain did he ask for an explanation of the mystery; either they could not, or would not, satisfy his curiosity.

"Among the inhabitants of the city there was an intelligent man, by name Jām, with whom Hatim formed the most sincere friendship and affection, so (p. 161) that they became inseparable companions. One day as they were conversing together, the awful voice sounded loud from the summit of the mountain. When Hatim's friend heard the sound, he all at once became silent, and it was easy to see that his hour had come. He quickly rose up, and began to make for the mountain, of which, when his relatives received intelligence, they all prepared to follow him. Hatim with a heavy heart accompanied his beloved friend, for he knew that he was called thence no more to return. He resolved, however, not to part with him till death, and made up his mind to enter with him into the mysterious mountain, whatever might be the consequence. Hatim then girded up his loins; and placing his trust in God, he laid hold of his friend Jām by the hand, and marched along with him towards the foot of Nida. 'My dearest friend,' said Hatim, 'why this silence? Speak to me, who am, as your brother, resolved to share your fate.' But Jām uttered not a word in reply: cold and senseless he hurried onwards, endeavouring from time to time to free himself from Hatim's friendly grasp. At last he exerted his utmost strength, and so sudden was the movement, that ere Hatim was aware of his intention, he found himself stretched on the ground, while his companion ran off at full speed. Hatim lost no time in pursuing, and having again overtaken Jām, he seized him by the skirt, and clung to him with all his might.

"Thus they proceeded up the side of the mountain, Jām endeavouring in vain to cast off his companion. At length they arrived at a spot where the rock, rent asunder, and both of them entered the chasm, which immediately closed behind them. . . .

"After they had entered the fissure of the mountain, an extensive plain appeared before them, the verdure and beauty of which exceeded description. As far as the eye could reach, the same endless green presented itself. As Hatim and his friend advanced, they reached a black spot on the plain, the shape of a grave, on which no plant whatever grew, and there Jām fell lengthways while his soul left his body. Hatim felt the earth shake beneath and straightway the body of his companion sunk into the ground; and the spot that had been previously bare and barren, became verdant as the rest of the plain (p. 162). Hatim having witnessed this wonderful scene, raised his voice in prayer to the all-wise Creator, whose decrees are beyond our comprehension. He now knew the mysteries of Nida, that the people of the city thus closed their earthly career."

I now come finally to the Rumanian *märchen* from which I originally set out on this long peregrination. And here I must be allowed to refer to one of those mishaps to which scholars in this country are peculiarly exposed. In Cornell University Library, besides the *Rumänische Märchen* of Mite Kremnitz, was P. Ispirescu's collection of Rumanian stories: *Legende sau Basme ale Românilorû adunate din gura poporulaî*, Bucuresci, 1882, from which I supposed Mite Kremnitz made her translation. Alas! the story in question was not in the 1882 edition of Ispirescu, nor was it in the edition of 1892. Just before the capture of the city of Bucharest I obtained a copy of the latest edition of Ispirescu, 1915, but my story was not in that. It must therefore be in the first edition of 1872, 1874-1876, but thus far I have been unable to procure it, nor can I understand why Ispirescu omitted from the subsequent editions so powerful a story and one which is unique in European *märchen*. As Mite Kremnitz is exact in her other statements of *provenance*, and her translations are correct so far as I have been able to compare them, I must use her version in lieu of the Rumanian original, which I shall now probably never behold.¹¹

¹¹ *Rumänische Märchen übersetzt von Mite Kremnitz*. Leipzig, Friedrich, 1882. The following story, No. 11, is taken, the translator says, from P. Ispi-

The story as she gives it is as follows:

THE VOICE OF DEATH (*Die Stimme des Todes*)

There was once as it once was; had it not been it would not have been told.

Once upon a time there was a man who prayed every day to God to give him riches. His many and frequent prayers found one day the good Lord in good humor and he heard him. Now that he was rich he no longer wanted to die and so he resolved to wander from land to land and to settle where he learned that the people did not die. He made ready for the journey, imparted his intention to his wife and set out.

In every country to which he came he asked if the people perchance died there and continued his journey as soon as he was told that some died there. Finally he reached a land where they said they did not know what dying meant. The traveller asked overjoyed: "But isn't there no end of people with you if they don't die?" "There isn't an enormous number," they replied, "for you see now and then some one comes and calls one after another, and whoever follows him never returns." "And do the people see the one who calls them?" he further asked. "How could they help seeing him?" they replied.

He could not wonder enough at the folly of the people who followed the one who called them when they knew that they would remain where he took them. He returned home, took all his property, wife and children, and went to reside where people do not die, but where a certain someone calls them and whoever follows this certain someone never returns. At the same time he firmly resolved that he and his would never follow any one who called them, whoever it might be. Consequently, after he had taken up his residence and arranged all his affairs, he advised his wife and all his family on no account ever to follow any one who might call them, if, as he said, they did not wish to die.

So they gave themselves up to a merry life and thus spent several years. One day as they were all sitting comfortably at home, the wife suddenly began to cry out, "I'm surely coming, I'm surely coming!" And she looked around the room for her fur-jacket. Her husband sprang up immediately, took her by the hand, held her fast and began to reproach her. "Is that the way you listen

rescu's collection of Rumanian stories, *Legende sau Basme ale Românilor adunate din gura poporului*. . . Partea I. Bucuresci, 1872, Partea II. (două fascicule), 1874-1876. It is not in the editions of 1882, 1892 or 1915.

to my advice? Remain here if you don't want to die!" "Don't you hear then how he is calling me? I'll just take a look and see what he wants, and come right back."

And she struggled to free herself from her husband's hands and follow the voice. He held her fast and succeeded in bolting all the doors of the room. When she saw this she said, "Leave me alone, husband, I won't go now any more." Her husband believed she had come to herself and ceased her madness; but it was not long before she rushed to the nearest door, opened it hastily and ran quickly out, her husband after her. He seized her by the jacket and did not cease to urge her not to go, for if she did, she would not return. She let her hands fall backwards, bent over a little, threw herself back, and the fur-jacket slipped from her shoulders and remained in her husband's hands. He stood motionless as he saw how she hastened away, crying with all her might, "I'm surely coming, I'm surely coming!"

When she was out of sight, her husband came to himself, returned home and said, "If you are mad and want to die, go in God's name. I can help you no more. I've told you often enough to follow no one, whoever it might be, who called you!"

Days passed, many days, weeks, months, years, and the peace of his home was not again disturbed. But once, as he found himself, according to his custom, at the barber's, whose shop was full of people, and had himself shaved, just as the lather covered his chin, he began to cry out, "I'm not coming, do you hear, I'm not coming." The barber and the other folks were quite stupefied. He said again, looking towards the door, "Mind once for all that I'm not coming and go away from there." Later he said again, "Go away, do you hear, if you want to come off with a whole skin; for I tell you a thousand times that I am not coming." And as if someone was standing at the door and constantly calling to him, he was vexed and angry that he would not leave him in peace. Finally he snatched the razor from the barber's hands and rushed out, "Give it to me," he said, "so that I can show him what it means to keep annoying people."

He ran in great haste after the one who, as he said, was calling him, but whom no one saw except himself. The poor barber ran after him in order not to lose his razor. The man ran, the barber after him, until they came outside of the town, and there, a little beyond it, the man plunged into a pit and was never seen again. So he, too, against his will, like all, followed the one who called him.

The barber, who returned home whistling, like one who has got the worst of it, told all what had happened to him, and so the notion

spread in the land that the men who went away and did not return had fallen into that hole, for until then no one had known what became of the people who followed the one who called them.

A crowd of people set out for the fatal spot in order to see the insatiable abyss which swallowed up all the people and yet was never satisfied, but they found nothing. It seemed as if ever since the world stood there had been nothing there but a broad plain, and from then on the people in that region began to die also as in the whole world.

I have now examined four episodes of the Alexander-legend: the Land of Darkness and Water of Life, the Wonderstone and the Mountain of Nida. The first two Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 91, considers of Oriental, but not of Jewish, origin. There may be a basis of historical truth for the legend in Alexander's march to the oasis of Ammon and the Well of the Sun. When this legend became known to the Jews, they substituted as Alexander's goal their own familiar Paradise, Gan Eden, for the Water of Life, which was foreign to their range of thought. As to the Wonderstone, Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 89, regards it as of Jewish origin.

This leaves the Mountain of Nida, which seems to be purely Persian. How the story was preserved from the time of Nizami to the *Romance of Hatim Taï* otherwise than in the *Sikander Nāma* we do not know, nor do we know by what channel the *motif* of the Voice of Death reached Rumania. As Professor Jackson says in a private letter, "Possibly the tale reached Rumania *via* Constantinople or even across Russia by the trade-routes." What is not so easy to explain is why so striking a story should have been stranded in Rumania and failed to enter the great stream of European *märchen*.¹²

¹² A part of the above article was read April 12, 1917, before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia. Professor M. Jastrow called my attention to the Alexander-Gilgamesh legend and suggested that the Berossus legend of the Deluge might be the ultimate source of the "Voice from the Mountain." In the latter legend (J. P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, 2d ed., London, 1832, p. 28), "Xisuthrus after the Deluge leaves the ark with wife, daughter and pilot and pays his adoration to the earth, afterwards he constructs an altar and offers sacrifices to the gods. He then disappears with those who had come out of the vessel with him. They who remained within, finding that their companions did not return, quitted the vessel with many lamentations, and called continually on the name of Xisuthrus. Him they saw no more; but they could distinguish his voice in the

air, and could hear him admonish them to pay due regard to religion; and likewise informed them that it was on account of his piety that he was translated to live with the gods; that his wife and daughter and the pilot had obtained the same honor." I confess this does not seem to me very convincing. For the relation of the legendary Alexander to the Gilgamesh epic, see M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, "The Gilgamesh Epic," p. 467; Bruno Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamesh*, Leipzig, 1894, and M. Lidzbarski, "Zu den arabischen Alexandergeschichten," in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VIII, 263, 278.

After the completion of the above article, my friend Halldor Hermannsson of the Cornell University Library, called my attention to an interesting story in Arnason's *Icelandic Legends* translated by G. E. J. Powell and Eiríkr Magnússon, 2d series, London, 1866, p. 659, "Death's Call." In this fine story Death sends a call to a man who is to be drowned in a certain river. The bishop learns this from the language of a raven and bids his folk seize the man when he tries to get into the river, and who cannot die until his lips and tongue are wetted with water from the stream. The man when he tries to enter the river cries: "Do not delay me; I am in haste."

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THE MYSTICAL LYRICS OF THE *MANUEL DES PECHIEZ*

THE two lyrics—one addressed to Christ and one to the Virgin—which conclude the *Manuel des Pechiez* are absent in the Middle-English version of Robert Mannyng of Brunne, which has been the usual starting point for studies connected with the Anglo-Norman original. It is perhaps because of this fact, and the consequent omission of the lyrics from the most accessible edition of the work¹ that they have received absolutely no special treatment. No more than a vague hint has been given as to their distinct literary merit,² and no effort has been made to trace their sources. The present note will point out the sources of a considerable portion of both lyrics, and comment on their significance for literary history.

I

The clue to the source of the first lines of the lyric addressed to Christ is found in the heading in Harl. MS. 273: this manuscript entitles the poem *Dulcis Ihesu Memoria*,³ and it turns out that the first thirty lines are a fairly close paraphrase of the first five quatrains of the famous hymn, "De Nomine Jesu,"⁴ an ecstatic lyric which has been usually ascribed to the authorship of St. Bernard

¹ The *Manuel* has been twice edited, both editions being by Dr. Furnivall, and both containing also the "*Handlyng Synne*" of Brunne. Only those portions used by the latter are printed in the text of the *EETS*. (Nos. 119, 123), but the complete *Manuel* is given in the edition of the Roxburghe Club of 1862, which is, of course, the only edition possible for the uses of this paper.

² Dr. Furnivall seems to single out the prayer to the Virgin when he refers, in discussing Manning's omissions, to "two prayers, to Christ and the Virgin (one very beautiful, but perhaps the Saturday half holiday tale, pp. 29-35, was enough Mariolatry)" (Rox. ed., p. xv).

³ The reading is quoted from the very valuable account by Mr. Herbert of the manuscripts of the *Manuel* in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, III, 1910, 278). It is quoted by Dr. Furnivall in a footnote, in the form, "Du-las Iesu memoria" (p. 404).

⁴ Printed, Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, CLXXXIV: see B. Hauréau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à Saint Bernard*, Paris, 1890.

of Clairvaux, and is in any case strongly reminiscent of his influence. The relation can be illustrated by the quotation, along with its original, of the French version of the first two quatrains of the Latin:

Duz sire, ray de gloire,	Jesu dulcis memoria,
Cum est de tai duz la memoire	Dans vera cordi gaudia:
Ke met al quer cele duzur,	Sed super mel et omnia
Ke doune ioie saunz dolur;	Ejus dulcis praesentia.
Mes outre la douzur de mel,	
Sur tute ren ke est sus ciel	
Est ta presence delitable,	
Duz, et suef, et desirable;	
Kar chaunt plus delitous ne est	Nil canitur suavius,
chaunte, ⁵	Nil auditur jucundius,
Ne plus ioieuse escote,	Nil cogitatur dulcius,
Ne quer purpense si grant duzur,	Quam Jesus Dei Filius.
Cum de iesu notre seignur!	(c. 1318.)
(ll. 11,995 f.)	

The next twenty lines (12,025-45) of the French give a penitential address to the soul not found in the Latin, but the succeeding twenty (12,045-62) give a somewhat free version of the following three Latin quatrains (6-9). The next four Latin stanzas (9-14) are entirely omitted, but the stanza following (13) is used in the French (ll. 12,062-71), and the subject of the Passion, which it introduces, is continued in the next French lines in more detail and with more emotion. Nothing in the French is derived from the Latin after this point (l. 12,068).

A new source is drawn on in the next verses. This is an Anglo-Norman penitential lyric ascribed in three of the five existing copies to St. Edmund of Canterbury. M. Paul Meyer, who first draws attention to this poem, leaves open the question of St. Edmund's authorship,⁶ but Dr. F. A. Patterson, in his study of the

⁵ For the same rhythm compare *The Solitary Reaper*,—"A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard" . . .—a comparison which serves to bring out the English quality of the verse, as well as its merit.

⁶ *Romania*, XXXV, p. 575. A complete list of the manuscripts is given by H. Petersen (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 1911, p. 15). He notes that the poem was printed by W. Wallace (*Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury*, London, 1893, p. 473), and by S. Bentley (*Excerpta Historica*, London, 1831, p. 407).

Middle-English penitential lyric,⁷ pronounces unhesitatingly in its favor, and plausibly grounds his opinion on the resemblance of the poem to St. Edmund's famous *Speculum*. The following parallel quotations (using the lines of the lyric printed by M. Meyer) will show that there is a direct dependence of the *Manuel* on the lyric:

Iesu, aiez merci de mai,	Duz sire Jhesu Crist, aiez merci
Mun duz pere en ky ioe crai,	de mei,
Ky de ciel descendistes	Ke del cel en tere venistes pur
E en la croiz mort suffristes ;	mei,
(ll. 12,079 ff.)	E de la virgine Marie nasquistes
	pur mei,
	E en la croiz mort suffristes pur
	mei.
	(ll. 1 ff.)

The next eight lines of the *Manuel* complete what is practically a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, ending,

En ceste fay me affermez. (l. 12,091.)

Ten lines then follow asking for protection against the fiend, whereupon the source is again taken up, as follows:

Merci vus cri, mun sauueur,	Merci vus cri, mun Jesu, mun
Mun solaz, ma ioie, ma duzur!	sauueur,
Abatez mon orgoil et mun rancur,	Mun solaz, mun confort, ma joie,
Ke amer vus pus cum seignur.	ma duçur,
Ducement me amastes auant. . . .	Osteiz de mun quer orguil, ire e
	rancur,
	Ke jo vus puisse a gré servir e
	amer cum Seignur.
	Mut vus dei ben amer, kar vus
	me amastes avant. ⁸

⁷ New York, 1911, p. 173.

⁸ *Romania*, XXXV, p. 575. A curiously drastic transformation is involved in the use of St. Edmund's prayer in the *Manuel*, and it may be useful to point out another Anglo-Norman lyric which seems to show St. Edmund's influence. The first two lines of a work on the Passion in fifty-one quatrains, existing in two manuscripts, are quoted by M. Meyer as follows:

Ave sire Jhesu Crist, moun tres douce seignour,
Ma joye, mon confort, moun solace et socour.

(*Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français*, 1879, p. 74.)

I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown for a copy of the first lines of this poem in Ar. MS., 288.

A complete text of the lyric (ll. 12,101 ff.) was printed by Bentley from a small thirteenth century roll of devotional pieces found in the Tower of London (evidently intended to be worn on the person, and left there at the execution of its owner). A comparison with this edition shows that the indebtedness of the *Manuel* to St. Edmund's prayer ends at l. 12,122; ll. 12,119-22 have used their original freely. No source has been found for the remainder of the lyric to Christ.

For the lyric to the Virgin, only one source has been discovered, and the extent of the contribution cannot be reckoned, since the source is unedited. The following parallel quotations, however, will show that there is undoubtedly a close relation between the two lyrics in question. The Anglo-Norman verses with which the lyric of the *Manuel* are here compared are found by M. Paul Meyer in a manuscript mostly given up to Bozon, and on this account the conjecture is made that they are also to be ascribed to this author. Their use, however, in the *Manuel des Pechiez*—of which several manuscripts go back to the thirteenth century⁹—would make Bozon's authorship very improbable, since his *Contes Moralisés* belong a little after 1320.¹⁰

	Douce dame, pie mere
	de ky nasqui vostre pere,
	Tut le monde (dist) ça en arere
	cumme vus estes a Deu chere,
Mes nel dirrait nul prechere	Mès nel dirreit nul pecchere
Cum vus estes bele et cler;	Cum vus estes bel & clere;
Douce dame, vostre nun	Douce dame, vostre nun
Ke pechurs vnt en bandun. . .	ke peccheürs unt en lur
(ll. 12,350 ff.)	baundun. . . ¹¹

The above presentation has shown the two lyrics of the *Manuel* to be, at least in part, a patchwork. However, some of the best portions remain unaccounted for, and in conclusion it will be shown that it is very probable that these are mostly original with the common author who moulded the whole. This opinion follows from

⁹ See Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

¹⁰ See *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, Frère Mineur*, ed. L. T. Smith and P. Meyer for the *Société des anciens textes français*, Paris, 1889, p. 11.

¹¹ *Romania*, XIII, p. 513.

the fact that the two poems are at times strikingly similar in sentiment and phraseology—so much so that it would be difficult to imagine that verses so similar could be fitted to the variant occasions of the two poems, if both were merely concatenations of quotations. There are general resemblances, such as the impassioned addresses in both lyrics to the "chaitif" soul (ll. 12,025 f., 12,135 f., 12,436 f.); and the feudal metaphors (ll. 12,311 f., 12,410 f., 12,606 f.). In addition to these correspondences may be noted the following parallel:

Alme, par peche es-mortie,	Ostez votre fol semblant,
En plorant querez votre vie,	Le bastun pernez al penant,
De plorer ne cessez mie;	Nuit et iure alez querant,
Merci requerez, et aie,	Tost et tart alez criant,
De iesu crist le fiz marie	Ne cessez iammes enplorant,
Ky tut le monde sauue et guie.	Querez marie e sun enfant.
Amur duz, uenez auant,	(ll. 12,565 ff.)
Si changez mun semblant,	
Le bastun me donez del penant;	
Iesum desir aler querant.	
(ll. 12,033 ff.)	

Such a composite origin¹² as has just been proved for the mystical lyrics of the *Manuel* may be said to be the natural outcome of the direct personal use which such verse would receive. Lyrical poetry of the mystical type would be used for the most familiar devotional purposes, and altered, perhaps, in the process, to suit the individual taste, by coördinating favorite stanzas of other origin. As a parallel, may be noted the similar combinations found among the Middle-English mystical lyrics written in the next gen-

¹² For a slight sign of relation between the lyrics and the rest of the *Manuel*, it may be noted that ll. 397-400 (in the discussion of the Articles of the Faith—a part also omitted by Mannyng) are identical with ll. 12, 526-9 of the lyrics. There is also to be noted some slight similarity of phraseology between ll. 12, 707-8 of the epilogue, and ll. 12, 156-9 and 12, 309 of the lyrics. Reference should here be made to my earlier article on the *Manuel* (ROMANIC REVIEW, VIII, 434-62), where evidence is presented which points to a separate authorship for the lyrics and epilogue. The present article, by bringing out the strong mysticism of the lyrics, will serve to emphasise their difference from the rest of the work, and from everything which Mannyng uses.

eration in England.¹³ It is this later expression of English mysticism with which the lyrics of the *Manuel* will now be compared, and to which they will be found to show further points of similarity.

II

The significance for literary history of the mystical lyrics of the *Manuel* lies in their relationship to Middle-English religious lyrics. This relationship will be described and discussed at some length.

The use of St. Edmund's lyric in the *Manuel*¹⁴ forms one element of connection with Middle-English lyrical poetry, for the religious verse of the later Middle Ages in England shows the influence of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, and the lyric and the treatise show a close relationship with each other. Another specific influence which the Anglo-Norman lyrics share with their Middle-English successors is that of the *Dulcis Jesu memoria*. In a study, now in preparation, of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in England, it will be shown that this hymn—which with St. Bernard's Fifteenth Sermon on the Canticles may almost be called the nucleus of the cult—became immensely popular and influential in England, and was probably very active in setting the type of mysticism which was developed during the mystical movement of the fourteenth century. Other signs than its use in the *Manuel* will be given of its popularity in Anglo-Norman literature, and the fact that its popularity in Middle-English literature probably antedates the time of Richard Rolle—who is generally considered the "father of English mysticism"—would appear from the occurrence of two

¹³ Some of the borrowings among Middle-English mystical lyrics are pointed out by Patterson (*op. cit.*, *passim*). It should also be noted that a lyric attached to the *Ego Dormio* of Richard Rolle (Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, London, 1894, I, 60) contains portions of a translation of a "Meditation of St. Augustine" (printed *EETS.*, No. 15, p. 243), of which Professor Brown lists several copies dating from before Rolle's time (see *A Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, Bibliographical Society, Oxford, 1916, pp. 148, 228, etc.)

¹⁴ The *Speculum* probably had its influence on Anglo-Norman literature, for it circulated largely in an Anglo-Norman form, as it did later in a Middle-English (see *Romania*, XXIX, p. 53; XXXII, p. 74; *Bulletin*, 1880, p. 72; 1894, p. 66; Horstman, I, 219 ff.). Patterson says of the work: "It was one of those books that precede public thought. England was at that time approaching the full development of mysticism. St. Edmund's *Mirror* was just in advance of the age" (p. 27).

lyrics imitating it in the most famous of all collections of Middle-English lyrics, Harl. MS. 2253, which is dated about 1310.¹⁵ The clue is plainly given by the heading, as it had been given in the *Manuel*, but its use in the present case especially presupposes in scribe and reader some knowledge of the hymn, since the English lyric that follows is an imitation, and not in any case a translation, as the first part of the Anglo-Norman lyric had been.

Though these lyrics must probably be called the forerunners of the mystical movement which gave the dominating influence to the religious verse of the century,¹⁶ nevertheless they belong to the very type associated with the school of Rolle, and their popularity—and probably influence—was continuous after his time. This is made clear by the fact that they were extensively copied, and twice revised and enlarged. It is a testimony to their identity of tone that they were first combined, with additions, which are “presumably by R. Rolle, whose poetry re-echoes the same theme,” says Horstmann, in printing all three versions side by side.¹⁷ A text in the Vernon MS.—that repository of all that was most significant in contemporary literature—contains still more additions.

The relation of the lyrics of the *Manuel* to the devotional poetry written in Middle-English may be well illustrated by a comparison with the lyrics just discussed, which, though they may not have been composed much later than the *Manuel*, yet may safely be taken as typical of the later devotional poetry. In the following parallel quotations the text of Harl MS. 2253, which is the nearest

¹⁵ *Altenglische Dictungen*, ed. K. Bökdeker, Berlin, 1878, pp. 191 ff. It is interesting to find them appended to the *Processional of the Nuns of Chester* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899, pp. 30 f.). Though the date of Rolle's birth is not known, it is not likely to have been early enough for him to have written these poems. He died in 1349, and though his works often refer to his youth, they never mention old age.

¹⁶ See Patterson, pp. 3 ff.; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 258; Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, London, 1906, p. 437.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 9 ff. He refers to the two poems as an “imitation of the famous hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*.” Chambers refers to them in connection with Rolle: “It is precisely the tradition of such poetry that he continues” (*Early English Lyrics*, ed. Chambers and Sidgwick, London, 1907, p. 289). A second lyric showing the influence of the Latin hymn is the immensely popular “*Jhesu, thi swetnes wha moghte it se*,” printed also by Horstman (I, 368), and in many other collections.

in point of time to the *Manuel*, will be used, unless one of the others is specified.

The Latin poem expresses for the most part pure ecstasy, evenly sustained, and in the ecstatic stanzas the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics have naturally drawn a common element from their common model. The following stanzas, though they do not give any exact correspondences, reflect the same mood and manner:

Sire de tut cristianete,
Iesu, ray de grant pite,
La lai de amur me enseingnez
Ke tant sauer ay desirez.
(ll. 12,161 ff.)

Swete Ihesu, now wil I synge
To þe a songe of luf-longynge.
(ll. 5-6.)
Teche me, lord, þi luf-songe,
With swete teres euer amonge.
(ll. 9 f.)

The metaphor of the planting of love in the soul, which is fitted to an elaborate allegory in the French, is implied in the English:

Sire, ky plantas parais
Le tredelicius pais,
En mun quer amur plantez,
Et de ta grace la arosez.
(ll. 12,171 ff.)

Suete Iesu, min huerte bote,
in myn huerte þou sete a rote
of þi loue þat is so swote,
ant lene it þat hit sprynge mote.
(ll. 9 f.)

But the ecstatic element, though it dominates, does not monopolise the lyrics written in England. Penitential passages inserted in the *Manuel* from the lyric of St. Edmund have already been quoted, and parallel quotations can be given from both the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics, in which the penitence, which in the Latin was hinted at from afar off, bursts out into impetuous expression:

Allas! iesu! quei dirrai?
Quele pleint fummerai,
Kant pur vus pecher ne lessai,
Si pite, sire, ne aiez de mai.
(ll. 12,071 ff.)

Iesu, sef þou for-letest me,
what may m(e) lik(yn) of þat
y se?
Iesu, sef þou be from me go,
(Second lyric, l. 101-2 f.)
mi soule is fol of serewe ant wo;
whet may i sugge bote wolawo,
when mi lif is me atgo?
(ll. 165 f.)

Duz sire, ky pur nus voliez morir,	Iesu, þat deore bohtest me,
E ke designastes, duce iesu, mort	make me worþi come to þe;
suffrir,	alle mi sunnes forsef þou me,
Vostre grace, nus voillez granter,	þat ich wiþ blisse þe mowe se.
En ceste vie ici amender	(l. 177 ff.)
Coe ke auoms trespasse,	
Ky fontaine es de pite.	
(l. 12,147 ff.)	

Iesu, pur la grant duzur	Iesu, my saule drah þe to,
De tun tredelicius amur,	min heorte opene, & wide vndo,
Quer me donez, en ma vie	þis hure of loue to drynke so,
Hair de peche la vilainie.	þat fleysshliche lust be al for-do.
(ll. 12,123 ff.)	(ll. 77 ff.)

The Bernardian lyric has been accused of "eddying around its subject,"¹⁸ and Horstmann notes (p. 9) that "the English poets, by introducing the story of the passion, give action to the mere reiterations of the Latin hymn." The lyric of St. Edmund adds the same subject to the *Manuel*. The following parallel quotations will show that both vernacular poets treat this in the realistic, pathetic manner described as coming into fashion in the thirteenth century,¹⁹ and that the hint supplied from the Latin is slight.

¹⁸ For this remark and other comments on the style and history of the hymn see the account by Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*. He notes its connection with the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus.

¹⁹ In connection with the appearance, following the simple matter-of-fact piety of the *Manuel* as a whole, of the present lyrics, highly charged with emotion, it is very suggestive to read the brilliant characterisation of French art of the thirteenth century and later, given by M. E. Mâle in his *Art religieux du treizième siècle en France* (Paris, 1910, pp. 239, 273 f.). A fundamental change is described as coming over the portrayal of religious subjects in art toward the end of the thirteenth century, and whereas in the earlier period interest had been expressed in dogma principally, and the art had been impersonal, an emotional element later transforms the whole treatment—because "se rapprocher de Dieu, voilà bien le désir qui, dès la fin du xiii^e siècle, commence à travailler la chrétienté" (Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 146). The special influences operating to produce this effect on French art were the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, popularly ascribed to St. Bonaventura, and Franciscanism. They appeared in the pathetic, realistic treatment of the Scriptural narratives, and in the pre-dominance of the subject of the Passion.—Some of the same tendencies, however, were already present in the work of St. Bernard (see the Twentieth Sermon on the Canticles), and, even before him, in the devotional pieces of St.

Both lyrics written in England continue with the subject of the Passion at considerable length.

Tumbam perfundam fletibus,
Locum replens gemitibus;
Jesu provolvar pedibus,
Strictis haerens amplexibus.

(Stanza 8)

Hoc probat ejus Passio,
Hoc sanguinis effusio,
Per quam nobis redemptio
Datur, et Dei visio.

(Stanza 13)

Sa tumbes de plur moilleraï,
Enuirun tut le empleraï
De plur et de gemisement
Tant ke li troef en present;
A ses pez dunke me estendraï;
Estraitement le embraceraï,
Recorderaï sa passiun,—
Ke est nostre redempciun,—
Coment il se lessa pener
Pur nus de peine deliuerer,
Coment il fu en croiz pendu,
E tint ses bras tut estendu
Pur ceus receiure e embracer
Ky a ly uoleient repairer.

(ll. 12,061 ff.)

Ihesu, wele owe I to luf þe
For þat me schewed þo rode tre,
þi corone of þornes, þi nayles þre,
þo scha[r]pe spere þat þorowstonge þe.
Jhesu, of luf is soþe tokenynge
þi hed doun bowed to luf-kyssynge,
þin armes sprad to luf-clyppynge,
þi syde al open to luf-schewynge.

(Reg. text, ll. 181 ff.)

In the expanded form of the Middle-English lyrics appears a further addition. As Horstmann expresses it (p. 9), "the whole has been subdivided by inlaid stanzas to St. Mary," and by this means a relation is created to the lyric of the *Manuel* addressed to the Virgin. The connection is, however, of the slightest, since only one stanza expresses the mystical attitude of direct ecstatic approach, the rest being simple requests for mediation. The lyric addressed to the Virgin in the *Manuel* heaps up its devotion from

Anselm (*v. infra*, p. 183 f.).—With Mâle compare H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 2d edition, London, 1914, I, 359: "From the eleventh century onward, the gathering religious feeling pours itself out in passionate utterances; and in this new emotionalizing of Latin Christianity lay the chief religious office of the Middle Ages."

every element of her cult found in mediaeval works. It addresses her in the elaborate metaphors, half expressive of dogma, so typical of the thirteenth century; in the later more ardent terms of supplication as the supreme Mediator and Mistress, which belonged to the ecstasy of her cult; and in the familiar and realistic appeal to her maternity, which was the latest development of all.²⁰ In the lyric inserted from Bozon's manuscript there is even present an appeal to the "Name of Mary," a devotion urged as strongly by St. Bernard as that of the "Name of Jesus,"²¹ which did not, however, become equally influential in England, if we may judge from extant remains.

Though the comparisons just made do not give evidence of any direct relation existing between the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics, they would at least suggest that the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English authors were subject to much the same influences, as would be natural, since they were both Englishmen. The poems are similar, it has been seen, not only in their model, but also in the spirit in which the model has been followed; to use the phraseology of mystical schematicism applied to the Middle-English lyric by Dr. Patterson, the source was a lyric belonging to the "Illuminative Life," and both the adaptations, with their emphasis on mediation, and their absorption in penitence and the Passion, belong partly to the preliminary stage, the "Purgative Life."

²⁰ For the gradual development in the cult of Mary see Mâle, *loc. cit.* For an example in the *Manuel* of the typical thirteenth century manner, with its latent touch of dogma, the following:

Rein, mere, fille et pucele,
Auditur, minister et chapel. (ll. 12, 650-1.)

For the later manner, the feudal metaphors, or the following:

Douce dame en ky me a-fy,
Requerez votre douce amy
Ke de votre chaitif ait merci.
Vos mameles, dame, mustrez ly,
Ke il leta, par sa merci.
Dites ly, dame, dites ly,

"Cum mere et norice vus prie" . . . (ll. 12, 671 ff.).

The latter lines give the exact sketch for the later representations of the Virgin in French art described by Mâle; the former, for the earlier. He notes that mediaeval art seems to lag behind literature, but he hardly seems to appreciate by how much, since he neglects such early mysticism as Anselm's.

²¹ *Super Missus est Homiliae*, II, ¶ 17.

Several conclusions significant for the literary history of England follow from the close agreement of the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics in question. In the first place we have here an interesting promise of close continuity existing between the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English literatures in general, and another hint that they should be considered as one whole, probably written in many cases for and by the same persons. Another significant conclusion follows as a corollary to the first: namely, that the Anglo-Norman literature possessed a distinctly local character, and was, in fact, often thoroughly English in everything except the medium. When in the thirteenth century, which was not especially mystical in France,²² we find French lyrics written in England already showing strong currents of the mysticism that was to produce the creative English mystics of the fourteenth century, it cannot be said that this branch of Anglo-Norman literature was mainly imitative of French models.²³ The fourteenth century in France has been described as especially unmystical,²⁴ and it is a singular trick of fortune that has brought into the histories of French mediaeval literature a considerable body of mystical verse, written

²² As Mâle makes clear, this was in general a scientific century all over Europe. Italy and Germany, however, were centers of mysticism at this time (see *L'Italie mystique*, by E. Gebhart, 2d ed., Paris, 1893, *Dante and the Mystics*, by E. G. Gardner, London, 1913). Mysticism seems rare in France during the Middle Ages, and M. Paris writes: "La religion, elle-même, qui, jadis comme aujourd'hui, a occupé tant d'intelligences et rempli tant de cœurs, a produit chez nous peu de ces ouvrages mystiques où l'âme exhale en effusions passionnées son amour de Dieu et son aspiration vers lui" (P. de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Paris, 1896, I, p. 1). For the same idea see H. Adams (*Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, Boston, 1913, pp. 333-4). St. Bernard, however, was one of the most influential mystics that ever lived.

²³ See Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People from the Origins to the Renaissance*, London, 1895, p. 119. "This French literature, the work of Englishmen, consisted of course mainly in imitations of French models." The same idea is repeated in most of the histories treating this period. Yet it can hardly be denied that, considered from the point of view of their substance alone, some Anglo-Norman works were as original as any of their contemporaries, as, for example, the *Petite Philosophie* (which, if written, as M. Meyer conjectures, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, would be, rather than the *Image du Monde*, the earliest work of the kind for laymen), or the *Plainte d'Amour*, called by M. Meyer, "poème extrêmement remarquable," "la pure expression des idées franciscaines sur l'amour de Jesus" (see *Romania*, VIII, p. 255 f.; XV, p. 292; XXIX, pp. 5, 72 ff.).

²⁴ See *Histoire littéraire*, XXIV, 350.

in French by Englishmen, because England has not yet thrown off the habit, acquired at the Conquest, of using French. These writers, in spite of their medium, were expressing the native influences that led their countrymen in the next century to follow the examples of their Teutonic relatives in an outburst of creative mysticism. M. Gaston Paris has expressed his surprise that the list of religious lyrics in old French should be so scanty,²⁵ but it is interesting to observe that, even so, many of the items listed in the standard histories, especially the mystical pieces—including the beautiful *Plainte d'Amour*—are of Anglo-Norman origin, and therefore not French from anything but a philologist's point of view.²⁶ The fact that there exists a considerable quantity of Anglo-Norman verse similar to the lyrics of the *Manuel*, notably the collection printed from a Lambeth manuscript,²⁷ and that such pieces are rare in Continental French books, would make it desirable that the neglected stores of Anglo-Norman manuscripts should

²⁵ *La littérature française du moyen âge*, cinquième édition, Paris, 1914, p. 257 f.—The type of lyric here discussed seems specially Anglo-Norman. See Groeber, *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1888, II, pt. I, p. 975: "Gebete auf Christus oder Lobgedichte auf seine Welterlösung sind zunächst besonders aus agfrz. HSS. bisher zugänglich geworden."

²⁶ M. G. Paris writes: "Le grand signe et le principal facteur de la nationalité, c'est la langue. Les Normands sont Français, car ils parlent français." (*La Poésie du moyen âge*, Paris, 1895, II, 60.) Much confusion in the mind of young students doubtless results from the philologists' method of classifying literature now in force. Probably very few of the members of classes in the general history of literature in American colleges have any notion when they learn that "*Handlyng Synne* was translated from the French" that the original belonged to English literature as much as the derivative, so far as the literary and social forces there expressed are concerned. They get also a false conception of the *Adam*, for example, when they find it introduced in the *Leçons de littérature française* of Petit de Julleville (Paris, 1899, I, 44-5), with no indication of the fact that it was apparently written in England, and may possibly be connected with the habit of theatrical representation already testified to for the England of Thomas à Becket by FitzStephen in the twelfth century. (See *Materials for the History of Thos. à Becket*, Rolls Series, 1877, III, 9.)

²⁷ Herrig's *Archiv*, LXIII, pp. 51 f. A poem on the Name of Jesus, also using the Bernardian hymn, is printed here (pp. 70 f.) Other mystical pieces are scattered through the descriptions of Anglo-Norman manuscripts by M. Meyer in *Romania* and the *Bulletin*, *passim*. Many translations and imitations of hymns occur, and he notes them as more frequent in English manuscripts than in French (*Romania*, IV, p. 371). Petersen (*op. cit.*, p. 16) gives a bibliography—not perfectly complete nor accurate—of the "si rare poésie lyrique Anglo-Normande."

be examined for what other works they contain of early English mysticism. Traces of connection with Middle-English mystics would probably appear at once. It should be noted that in Middle-English the religious lyrics far exceed in number the love-lyrics,²⁸ and it is very probable that the conspicuous number of religious poems in Anglo-Norman poetry foreshadow this phenomenon.

Thus it can be seen that the fact that the lyrics of the *Manuel* to some degree prophesy the immediate future of English religious devotion, gives us a hint that the beginnings of the English mystical movement of the fourteenth century must be sought in part, at least, amidst the Anglo-Norman literature of the thirteenth. Though the lyric addressed to the Virgin was to be succeeded by many Middle-English examples of the same type, especially among court poets, who were subject to French influences as well as English, yet it was not, as has been hinted, so significant for later literature as its companion. There seems to have been no special center for the cult of the Virgin in Middle-English times—such as was furnished by the *puy*s²⁹ of the same period in France; collections of her Miracles were much fewer than in Anglo-Norman literature,³⁰ and at no time could it be said in England, as it was said of

²⁸ Chambers, p. 282. The contrast between French and Middle-English lyrics in general is also true of a special class. Miss H. E. Sandison, in her study of the *Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, No. 12, 1913), notes that "the comparative frequency of the religious lyrics among the earliest English *Chansons d'aventure* stands in significant contrast to the scantiness of similar French songs. These variations in content are evident at a period when the French influence on the form was still direct and active" (p. 95). It may be noted that M. Paris remarks that the Normans show, in general, very little liking for lyrical poetry, and both he and Professor Haskins remark on the Normans' lack of mysticism, in spite of their devoutness (Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, pt. 1, Paris, 1910, p. 89; Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, Boston, 1915, pp. 12, 185). It is probable that the mystical tendency that we are tracing, with its tendency to express itself in lyrical forms, took root easily in England, because of the Anglo-Saxon strain, which had earlier expressed itself in the seriousness and even melancholy so conspicuous in the Anglo-Saxon literature. Though the extremes to which Taine carried his theory of the integrity of races did much to bring about a reaction against it, yet it seems impossible, when any national literature is viewed *in toto*, to deny that something of the sort is true.

²⁹ For the *puy*s see Patterson, pp. 40-1.

³⁰ See Evelyn Underhill, *The Miracles of Our Lady St. Mary*, London, 1906, p. xvii: "I have said that there are no Early English collections of Mira-

thirteenth-century France,³¹ that the Virgin was the sole theme of religious poetry. The principal theme of Middle-English poetry from the earliest times might be said to be the Passion, which bore a close relation to the mystical cult of Jesus. Unlike St. Anselm or St. Bernard (the founders of their tradition, as it appears), none of the leaders of the English mystical movement gave the Virgin even an expression of devotion comparable with what they gave the Son. Richard Rolle devotes only an early poem to her honor, and in an early work there is a passage in which he says that he

cles of the Virgin. Except for one or two tales of this sort in the South English Legendary and the Northumbrian Verse Homilies, England until the time of the invention of printing, read her Mary-Legends in Latin or French." There was, however, a great outburst of all types of devotion to Mary during the thirteenth century, in England as in other countries. French collections of Miracles of the Virgin were written in England by Everard of Gateley (see *Romania*, XXIX, pp. 27 f.) and Adgar (ed. *Altfranz. Biblioth.*, IX); the *Cursor Mundi* was dedicated to her in terms of ardent mysticism (ll. 69-114, *EETS.*, No. 57), and the confessor of the mother of Edward the First, John Houeden (whose influence on Rolle has been conjectured by Horstmann, I, xiii), wrote many ecstatic Latin poems in her honor (see Chaucer Society, *Essays on Chaucer*, Second Series, 2, p. 62). The influence to be observed in these and many other works of all the three current languages (the French poems of the Lambeth MS. and the English poems cited in the *Cambridge History*, I, 258 f., are specially interesting) had its effect in a material medium, for the histories of English architecture note the rapid building of Lady Chapels during this period (see F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, London, 3d ed., 1912, for a list of dates of building, and p. 172, n. e.; G. H. West, *Gothic Architecture in England and France*, London, 1911, pp. 11, 48, 52). The parts of the hermit Godric and of Edmund Rich in this development were probably considerable (see Schofield, p. 437; Wallace, *op. cit.*; *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 20, 053 f., and *EETS.*, No. 99, p. 46). It may be noted that the Normans were famous for their devotion to the Virgin (see Paris, *La Poésie du moyen âge*, II, 55; Adams, p. 50). A preaching tour in England in the twelfth century by some Premonstratensians eager to spread the cult of the Virgin in the interests of their order is described in *Migne*, CLVI, c. 974 ff. Two elaborate compilations have been made of the evidence of all sorts showing the mediaeval English veneration of the Virgin. These are: Father Bridgett's *Our Lady's Dower*, London, 1874, and E. Water-ton's *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, London, 1879. The comparative value of the evidence they present is naturally obscured, because both works are written for sectarian purposes. It is true that they furnish widespread testimony of the cult, but the same and even more comes from other countries at the same period.

³¹ See E. Järnström, *Recueil de Chansons pieuses du XIII^e siècle*, Helsingfors, 1910, p. 16.

made his initiation³² into love of Jesus through devotion to His Mother. In the lyric to the Son in the *Manuel*, we see expressed just such a concentration on the thought of Christ and emotional absorption in His Sacred Humanity as was the special characteristic of Rolle, and after him, of the general mystical movement in England.³³ In this type of devotion the lyrics of the Harl. MS. had

³² "Amicam autem adamaui in quam angeli omnipotentis anhelant aspicere et mirificam mariam misericordie matrem mulcebam mihi in mollicie melliflua; nec despexit dilectacionem quam detuli, at pocius procurauit a piissimo ut animus ornaretur ad amabiles amplexus intimi amoris. Illam vtique habui adiutricem quae orauit amatorem eterni ne abicerer ab eleccione amantissima; alioquin non amassem altissimum ardentem, nec suscepissem suauitatem sonantis cithare, neque caperer ad concentum canorum; quoniam illa ardentissima erat in amore, et omnes amicos citus accendit ad amandum. Pulcherima profecto puella clericulos cupit sibi conformari quos secum communicandos capiat ut quemamodum illa castissima continuabatur, ita et ipsi sine concupiscentia carnali consistent. Hanc amaui a iuuentute mea, et iam in iubilum geror sine gemitu, nec abstulisti aliena quod ipsi optuli ab initio, virginitatem videlicet, vt viam virtuosae et uestiar virtutibus, et ex quo iussus fuero finire presentem peregrinacionem in aulam, assumar eternitatis ad inhabitandum cum angelis quorum consorcium continue concupisco." Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford MS. 193, f. 234 f. This extract occurs separately in several manuscripts, and it presents a contrast to the extreme lyrics of the cult, of which Ten Brink writes: "We feel as if the Deity himself were addressed." (*History Eng. Lit.*, transl. Kennedy, New York, 1889, I, 205.) The *Melum*, from which the quotation comes, is an early work, in which the author refers to himself as a youth, as he does also in the poem addressed to the Virgin. This begins as follows: "Zelo tui languco, virgo speciosa" (see Horstmann, II, xxxvi). The *Melum* is mostly made up of ardent mystical expression of the love of Jesus, as are all Rolle's works.

³³ The writings of the English mystics are for the most part still in manuscript. Some have, however, received a modernised edition for devotional purposes, and in the prefaces of these editions are to be found the only generalisations which the movement has received. Though the editors sometimes suffer from their lack of complete information as to the manuscript material, their comparative knowledge of devotional literature often gives their remarks great value. Rev. J. B. Dalgairns, who had written some of the "Lives of the English Mediaeval Saints" at Littlemore, prefixed to his edition of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (new edition, London, 1908) an essay on the "Spiritual Life of Mediaeval England," in which he points out the "type of devotion which was peculiarly English" (p. iv). He speaks of Julian of Norwich as belonging to "the genuine school of English mystics which we have pointed out. Her love for Jesus is of the same kind as that found in the 'Ancren Riwele'" (p. xxxvi). In summing up the *Scale of Perfection* he concludes: "Above all it is remarkable for containing the old English tradition of a most tender, personal love for our blessed Lord" (p. xlv). The late Monsignor Benson opened his *Book of the Love of Jesus* (London, 1914, p. xv), a book largely compiled from Rolle,

appeared as pioneers, and, since they seemed to antedate Rolle, they were pioneers of mysterious origin. Other evidence has now appeared showing that Rolle was born into an environment in which there were influences already making strongly towards mysticism, and that even the type to which he was to give such vigorous and abundant expression, was already in process of formation.

This conclusion ought not to be unexpected. It is, of course, inevitable on general grounds that a man even so original and full of idiosyncrasy as Rolle, should be subject to influence from his age; but, more than that, there were conspicuous signs that the mystical type of devotion was being developed in England from the twelfth century on. As has already been remarked, there is no valid reason for separating the authors and publics of the two vernacular literatures written in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but, since they are usually so separated, some discussion of the relations of the three languages used in the period is necessary before proceeding with our investigation of the early landmarks of mysticism in England.

III

It is possible to state positively that no racial divisions existed in England so late as the time of composition of the *Manuel des* as follows: "There are certain characteristics of mediaeval English devotion which are easy to trace in this collection. They spring, for the most part, from an intense and passionate love for the Sacred Humanity of Jesus Christ." Miss Evelyn Underhill writes as follows in an introduction to the *Fire of Love and Mending of Life* of Rolle, edited in a modernised text by Miss F. M. M. Comper (London, 1914, p. xxii): "Here we find, fused together, the highest flights of mystical passion for the Ineffable God, and the intense devotion to the Person of Christ: the special quality which marked all that was best in English religion of the mediaeval period. In such passages—and his works abound in them—Rolle sets the pattern to which all the great English mystics who followed him conformed. Were we asked, indeed, to state their peculiar characteristic, I think that we must find it here: in the combination of loftiest transcendentalism with the loving and intimate worship of the Holy Name. Thus it is that they solve the eternal mystic paradox of an unconditioned yet a personal God. 'The Scale of Perfection,' 'The Cloud of Unknowing,' 'The Revelations of Divine Love,' all turn on this point." This subject will be pursued in my article on the "Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus."

Pechiez.³⁴ The Normans at the Conquest were racially nearer to the English than to their Continental neighbors, and we have the explicit statement of Henry II's Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1177 that in his time it was practically impossible, amongst free-men, to distinguish the Norman and English strains in the nation.³⁵ An interesting collection of mediaeval Continental opinions of the English, brought together by M. Ch. V. Langlois, show that abroad, at any rate, from the middle of the twelfth century on, not only were all racial lines in England lost sight of, but that the English national characteristics, as we know them to-day, had already become visible.³⁶ Moreover, the existence in English of highly cultivated works like the *Ancren Riwele*, the *Owl* and the *Nightingale*, or the "Cuckoo Song"—which, to quote Chambers, is "not folksong, but a learned composer's adaptation of a *reverdie*" (p. 273)—show that no sharp demarcation could have existed of social distinction between the two languages, and the examples, given by Bishop Stubbs and others, of the bilingual capacity of even high-

³⁴ The *loci communes* testifying to the use of French and English in England are given in Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 2d edition, London, 1875, I, 544 f.; H. Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen philologie*, Strassburg, 1901, I, 950 ff. (article by D. Behrens); Traill's *Social England*, London, 1909, I, sect. II, 398 f., 532 f.; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire*, II, 520 ff.; the *Contes* of Bozon, pp. LII f.; O. Scheibner, *Ueber die Herrschaft der französischen Sprache in England*, Annaberg, 1880; *England under the Normans and Angevins*, by H. W. C. Davis, London, 1905, p. 182. An example, not hitherto noted, of the use of English among persons apparently well-born, before the middle of the twelfth century, occurs in the account of Roger the hermit and Christina, the rich recluse (*Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, 99). Ordericus Vitalis describes the use of English in 1116 at a trial by a man who "was neither rich nor poor," a "free tenant" in Huntingdonshire (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. A. Le Prévost, Paris, 1845, *Société de l'histoire de France*, III, 127). It is worth pointing out that St. Edmund Rich, who wrote, so far as we know, only in Latin and French, uses an English proverb when dying (see Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 532), and that an English quatrain occurs in his *Speculum* in the Latin, French and English versions. (See Brown, *Register*, *passim*.)

³⁵ "Vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Normannus sit genere." Dialogue on the Exchequer, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9th edition, by H. W. C. Davis, Oxford, 1913, p. 219. It is interesting to observe how many of the persons born in the island before the middle of the twelfth century who have left memorials of themselves, of one kind or another, are positively known to be of mixed or English blood, as Ordericus Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Gilbert of Sempringham.

³⁶ "Les Anglais du Moyen Age," *Revue historique*, LII, pp. 268 ff.

born persons, would make it appear that not even accidents were likely to allow many persons to grow up in England in any free-born class, after the middle of the twelfth century, without knowing both languages, or, perhaps, in any class, without knowing English. The fact that three of the most prominent writers of this period were Welshmen—Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Walter Map—is very likely to have had its effect in retarding the revival of English in the twelfth century as a literary medium, at a time when the native tongue was widely used for familiar speech; and the wide foreign connections of the Angevin kings probably contributed to the same end. But even Giraldus is not without his knowledge of English, even of English literature, of which he speaks respectfully,³⁷ and Walter Map lets us know that the insular French of his time was already often strongly provincial.³⁸ The significance of the fact can hardly be over-estimated, which is stated by Ordericus Vitalis,³⁹ that the Conqueror tried—though unsuccessfully—to learn English: “il est certain,” writes M. Brunot, “que les chartes et les actes de Guillaume sont en latin et en anglo-saxon, ce qui semble peu d’accord avec les intentions que lui prête Holkot, de détruire le saxon et d’unifier le langage de l’Angleterre et celui de la Normandie.”⁴⁰ Under these circumstances it would appear extremely probable that the English-born Henry I should have spoken English, whatever was the case with the Angevin kings; a charter notes Henry I.’s ability to read English law terms, but it is thought to be perhaps a forgery.⁴¹ It was in his reign, at all events, that the dying prophecy of Edward the Confessor was fulfilled: “England’s sorrows shall end when the green tree, severed by the space of three

³⁷ *Opera*, Rolls Series, London, 1868, VI, 177, 187.

³⁸ He speaks of “Marlborough French,” *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. V, VI, pp. 246-7, ed. M. R. James, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1914.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 215.

⁴⁰ Petit de Julleville, II, 521, n. 1. Bishop Stubbs states that “charters were written in Latin and English coördinately down to the accession of Henry II” (*Lectures on Early English History*, London, 1906, p. 229). When English was abandoned, Latin, not French, took its place. It would be natural that a decline of English should take place in the reign of Henry II., since his education must have been more foreign than that of any king since the Conqueror.

⁴¹ See J. H. Round, *Academy*, 1884, No. 645, p. 168, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 721 f.

furloughs from its stem, should be grafted in again and should bear flowers and fruit."⁴² Though the young prince went down in the White Ship who, after three Norman kings, was the fruit of the union of the English and Norman royal stocks, yet the union which he represented was perpetuated in some measure in the reign of Stephen, since the king (who had spent much of his youth in England, as his uncle's heir) was the nephew of Henry, and the queen the niece of "good Queen Maud"; and by the reign of Henry II, though connections with France were doubtless stronger than at any time since the days of the Conqueror, yet the sovereign represented the two stocks as truly as his uncle, the son of the first Henry, would have done. Aelred, in interpreting the prophecy for Henry II, concludes: "Habet nunc certe de genere Anglorum Anglia regem, habet de eadem gente episcopos et abbates, habet et principes, milites etiam optimos, qui ex utriusque seminis coniunctione procreatos." "After the middle of the twelfth century at the latest," says a writer in Traill's *Social England*, "the use of the term Norman to denote an inhabitant of England meant no more than a similar use of the term Huguenot at the present day" (p. 535). He draws the analogy of modern Wales to describe the use of the two vernaculars in Angevin England. That the inhabitants of England felt themselves English appears from their use of English law and legends.⁴³

⁴² Migne, CXCIV, c. 773. This life of Edward (prepared at the time of his canonisation, by Aelred) is included in *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford, 1901, I, 344). It is interesting to note that the first steps for the canonisation were taken by Stephen, and seem to point to an effort on his part to take advantage of the reconciliation with the English elements of the nation effected by Henry I. Stephen's natural son was at this time abbot of Westminster, but the effort is supposed to have failed because of the scandals attached to this abbot. (See the letters of Prior Osbert de Clare, ed. R. Anstruther, *Caxton Society*, 1846, pp. 120 f., and the *History of Westminster Abbey*, by John Flete, ed. J. A. Robinson, Cambridge, 1909.) The Confessor was canonised 1161, and Aelred died 1166.

⁴³ William of Malmesbury notes that one Goscelin came over from France in the time of the Conqueror, and made the most comprehensive history of the saints of England, both old and new, that had been made since the days of Bede. (*De Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series, 1889, II, 389, Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, New York, 1916, p. 140.) Professor Schofield notes the appropriation of insular legends by even the early Normans, and Professor Maitland describes the continuity of English law (Traill, I, 398 ff.).

Whatever were in the twelfth century the reasons that kept the general knowledge of English from stimulating the development of English literature, it can easily be seen that in the thirteenth special causes influenced the retention of French as the literary language of the country. The general preëminence of French among the vernaculars of Europe was at this time increased until French became almost the universal vernacular of Christendom, as Latin was the universal learned language. Paris was authorised by the Pope as the center and model of the theological studies of the whole church,⁴⁴ and, altogether, the high-minded mediaeval ideal of internationalism had some reality behind it at this time in the literary and theological worlds. In the international center which Paris now was—in which, naturally, aliens were as influential as Frenchmen—the most prominent Englishmen of the time served their turn; and it is not strange, as a consequence, that strong Nationalists like Edmund Rich or Grosseteste, who had spent much time at the theological center of Christendom, should not be specially active in substituting English, as a literary medium, for the more universal French which the nation was already using, and using with some show of hereditary right. Italians at this period were using French with less substantial motives,⁴⁵ and it is interesting to observe that their encomiums of the language, on which they founded their use of it, were repeated exactly by the English in the earliest of all manuals for teaching French, which was written

⁴⁴ This appears from the Bull "Super speculam" of Honorius III, Nov. 16, 1219 (*Chartularium Univers. Paris.*, ed. Denifle et Châtelain, Paris, 1889-1897, I, 90 f.). Paris is not allowed to teach Civil Law, but "Parisios declarat locum, ubi theologia debeat doceri." Oxford is ordered to model its curriculum on that of Paris (pp. 169, 189, etc.).—"Seit der Mitte des 12 Jhs. und im 13. finden wir in Paris und Bologna alle Nationen vertreten. Diese Universitäten waren die beiden grossen Emporien der Wissenschaft in Europa, die beiden Leuchten, denen man damals nachwanderte." Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, I, 747.

⁴⁵ "Le francais faillit, au xiii^e siècle, devenir la langue littéraire de l'Italie: pendant que le Pisan Rusticien, les Vénitiens Marc Pol et Martin de Canale, le Florentin Brunet Latin, l'employaient de préférence à leurs idiomes respectifs, des chanteurs populaires amassaient le peuple autour d'eux, dans les rues et sur les places des villes lombardes, vénitiennes et romagnales, en lui chantant des histoires en la langue de France, comme dit l'un d'eux." G. Paris, *La Poésie du moyen âge*, II, 40.

in England.⁴⁶ Even at the end of the fourteenth century, Gower, when he uses French, addresses the "université de tout le monde." It is evident that the thirteenth century was a period when a nation desiring not to be provincial would be more likely to acquire French than to drop it. It is certain that Nationalism was the issue of the age in politics,⁴⁷ being stimulated by the hordes of new aliens, whose arrival, as followers of Henry III's relatives, was enough to fuse the various elements of the country, even had the cleavage left by the Conquest been still distinct. Nationalism was carried to greater extremes than at any other period, yet apparently there was nothing derogatory to the national dignity, according to the current ideals, in the use of a foreign language. It is, in fact, at this time that French is first used in the statutes of England (Traill, I, 403). It is probable, however, that the Nationalist ideal in the end, by a cumulative effect, contributed to the fourteenth century revival of English. The analogy from our own times⁴⁸ that suits

⁴⁶ *Romania*, XV, 262. This passage is quoted beside a mention of Latini by Professor Schofield (p. 137).

⁴⁷ See the *National Movement in the Reign of Henry III and its Culmination in the Barons' War*, by O. H. Richardson, London, 1897. Foreign marriages even were forbidden. In a chronicle like that of Rishanger the whole narrative centers about "alienigenae." (Camden Society, 1840, ed. J. O. Halliwell.)

⁴⁸ Several European countries at the present day are passing through a bilingual state which it is interesting to compare with thirteenth century England. Norway, under the stimulus of a Nationalist movement, is endeavoring to speak and write Norwegian, a vernacular which, during the years of the predominance of the Danish language (brought about originally by a political union with Denmark), had degenerated into a diversity of peasant dialects. In Greece a group of scholars are attempting to substitute for literary purposes the "demotic" language, in place of the artificial classical language now in use. In both cases the medium which is proposed is itself more or less artificially composed from several dialects, and both the substitutes are cognate to the language already in use. In Greece everyone, in any case, always speaks the demotic tongue, and the literary language is so far from natural that it contains forms "that were obsolete long before the tenth century." The basis of the literary language was the "universal Greek" developed by the Byzantines, and by reason of its continuance the "Greeks . . . came into a *cul de sac* similar to that in which certain rigidly conservative Oriental nations find themselves. . . . The divorce of the written and spoken languages is the most prominent, and also the most sinister heritage that the modern Greeks have received from their Byzantine forefathers." It is of interest that the introduction of the "demotic" language in the schools has followed the fall of King Constantine. The fundamental differences between the two tongues in use (as well as other

the case is the use of French up almost to the present, by the upper classes in countries using a difficult medium, such as Russia, or the Balkan countries, rather than cases like Alsace-Lorraine, where a foreign language is in part imposed tyrannically. The universal use of French fashions at the present day must also be remembered, as an example of internationalism which even the present war seems unlikely to overthrow. The fact that no loss of dignity was involved for the Middle Ages by use of a foreign tongue appears from the fact that the conquering Normans themselves had entirely given up their own language after settling in France.

But in the thirteenth century it was not only that the national dignity was preserved rather than lessened by using the universal rather than the provincial vernacular; the convenience of using a stable and uniform language, such as Higden describes Anglo-Norman to have been,⁴⁰ can be understood when we consider that we have testimony from every side that English was split into a shifting confusion of dialects nearly approaching Babel. In the ecclesiastical decrees the forms were given by which laymen, in case of emergency, could administer the rite of baptism in Latin, French or English, and in the Constitutions of Archbishop Peck-

circumstances) make the case of Wales, already cited, closer than any other to that of mediaeval England. "Wales is essentially a bilingual country, wherein every educated Cymro speaks and writes English with ease, and where also large towns and whole districts . . . remain practically monoglot English-speaking. Nor are the Welsh landowners and gentry devoid of this new spirit of nationalism, and although some generations ago they ceased as a body to speak the native tongue, they have shown a strong disposition to study once more the ancient language and literature of their country." It is said that after the introduction of English in the courts, Welsh was saved by the existence of Welsh Scriptures from the extinction that overtook Cornish; and, in the time of the Methodist revivals, a revival of Welsh schools led to a great revival of the use of Welsh. Since in the case of Wales to-day the orthodox vernacular is connected with the reigning political power and a race living very near and not, as in the case of England in the thirteenth century, with a foreign country overseas, we can imagine that the use of English in Anglo-Norman England would have been much more general than that of Welsh in Wales to-day. (See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, articles, Norway, Greece, Wales.)

⁴⁰ Higden, *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, London, 1869, II, 160. He refers to the great diversity of English, describing the Yorkshire dialect as almost unintelligible. Mr. G. C. Macauley remarks: "It may well be that the French used in England was not really so uniform, 'univoca,' as it seemed to Higden." (*The French Works of Gower*, Oxford, 1899, p. xv.)

ham of 1281⁵⁰ it is significant that the English form is thus qualified: "vel aliter in lingua materna secundum patriae consuetudinem." Even at the time of the Conquest, the division of English dialects left by the early separation of the country into different tribes and kingdoms was still strongly marked,⁵¹ and all the conditions under which English had survived since that time were such as to have developed dialects, even had none existed previously. It is evident that convenience as well as the international ideals of the intellectual world of the time would serve to perpetuate the use of French in England, and to strengthen its exclusive hold on the educational training of the nation.⁵² It is clear, therefore, that we need not expect, even in the thirteenth century, that Anglo-Norman literature is likely to be connected only with an affected and untypical element of the nation, any more than we need connect it, in the twelfth, exclusively with persons of Norman blood or of noble birth.

It should be said in conclusion that the motives that during this whole period actuated the choice of one of the three current lan-

⁵⁰ *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, etc., London, 1737, ed. D. Wilkins, II, 53. All three languages were allowed in such cases by all the constitutions of the Anglo-Norman period. It is interesting to note that in the monasteries of St. Peter's, Westminster, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, neither English nor Latin—only French—could be spoken in the cloister or chapter and that monks make their profession in French and Latin, whereas lay brothers may use English. (*Customary of St. Augustine's and St. Peter's*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 23 and 28, I, 274-6; II, 227-8.)

⁵¹ See *English Dialects from the Eighth Century to the Present Day*, by W. W. Skeat, "Cambridge Manuals," Cambridge, 1912.

⁵² Higden, *op. cit.*, p. 158. Trevisa interpolates at this point in his translation the celebrated reference to John of Cornwall's introduction of English in the schools. It would appear that Higden exaggerated the low state of English when he wrote: "in paucis adhuc agrestibus vix remansit" (p. 160). It will be noted that the authors who put the state of English the lowest, as Holkot, Robert of Gloucester, and Higden, all belong to the later period of the use of Anglo-Norman in England. It is interesting to conjecture whether—perhaps from a patriotic desire to stimulate a change—these writers exaggerated (as M. Brunot decides was true of Higden), or whether it was really a case of the "darkest hour before the dawn." Certainly too much has sometimes been made of conditions that could be duplicated to-day, as, for example, of the statement of Gervase of Tilbury that in the thirteenth century the English nobles sent their children to France to learn pure French.—It is interesting to note Romain Rolland's exposition of the international rôle of the French in culture up to the present time (given by Olivier to Jean-Christophe in *Dans la Maison*).

guages rather than another, are often obscure to us.⁵³ It might appear that English was "genteel" and French was vulgar, if we take, on the one hand, a work like the *Owl and the Nightingale*, evidently written for persons of culture, and, on the other, the *Manuel des Pechiez* or the *Contes* of Bozon, quite as evidently written for persons of low estate—almost, as it has been said, for *villains*.⁵⁴ With such instances of the danger of generalisations on this subject, it is evident that the only true method of understanding the literary output of England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is to take account collectively of the literature written in the three languages current. If practically everyone understood English, anyone might at any time write or read it, and we can safely reckon that the literature of the two vernaculars at least would reach much the same public, and be characteristic of much the same environment. Walter Map, as a matter of fact, seems to say that Gilbert Foliot, the famous Bishop of London of the twelfth century, wrote in the three languages,⁵⁵ and the same

⁵³ E. A. Freeman contributed an interesting article to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ("Normans"), in which a comparison, very fruitful for our purposes, is drawn between the Normans in Sicily and the Normans in England. He says (p. 754):

"We can see, also, that, though several languages were in use in England during the time of Norman rule, yet England was not a land of many languages in the same sense in which Sicily was. . . . No doubt there was a class that knew only English; there may have been a much smaller class that knew only French; any man who pretended to high cultivation would speak all as a matter of course. . . . Before the Conquest England had two official tongues. . . . And the same usage went on after the Conquest. . . . French documents are unknown till the days of French fashions had come in, that is, till deep in the 13th century. . . . In England, English, French, Latin were the three tongues of a single nation; they were its vulgar, its courtly and its learned speeches, of which three the courtly was fast giving way to the vulgar. In Sicily, Greek, Arabic, Latin, and its children, were the tongues of distinct nations."

⁵⁴ *Contes* of Bozon, p. liv, *Histoire littéraire*, XXVIII, 181 (G. Paris, on the *Manuel des Pechiez*). This is perhaps some of the literature provided for the "uplandish men" who, as we are told by Trevisa, made an effort to learn French. It is of course natural that this rustic Anglo-Norman should be amongst the latest.

⁵⁵ T. Wright makes the statement in quoting Map, as follows. "Gillebertus Filiot, nunc Lundunensis episcopus, uir trium peritissimus linguarum, Latine, Gallice, Anglice, et lucidissime disertus in singulis." *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, p. 18, quoted, *Biographia Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, London, 1846, p. 272. Map quotes an English proverb and words (pp. 75, 211).—At the end of the twelfth century Abbot Samson of St. Edmundsbury is said to be "eloquens Gallice . . . scripturam Anglice legere novit elegantissime, et Anglice

is recorded for Grosseteste, if we accept a statement made in the preface of one of his works.⁵⁶ Some of the productions of these persons may be preserved in the anonymous works of any of the three mediums. The true symbol for the literary history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England is the macaronic poem, in which the English clerk, residing in Paris, the authorised center of learning in Christendom, expresses himself in three languages at once.⁵⁷

Such a long discussion as has just been indulged in on a subject that might appear unrelated to the lyrics of the *Manuel*, has its justification in the fact that misconceptions of the separation between the Normans and Anglo-Saxons in England—founded perhaps on *Ivanhoe*, as one basis—seem to survive in literary history, and to be acted upon with serious results, even with respect to the *Manuel* itself. The most recent book of reference treating the *Manuel des Pechiez*, the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (I, 384) refers to that work as "written, probably, for Norman settlers in Yorkshire," apparently in ignorance of the fact that racial lines were lost in England a century before the time of the composition of the *Manuel*—and, as a matter of fact, if any racial classification is to be made of the readers of the *Manuel*, they are

sermocinari solebat populo, sed secundum linguam Norfolchie, ubi natus et nutritus erat" (*Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, Camden Society, 1840, p. 30). This sounds as if English had at this period its own standards of elegance. Later Samson is quoted as saying: "quod in multis ecclesiis fit sermo in conventu Gallice vel potius Anglice, ut morum fieret edificacio, non literature ostensio" (p. 95). This must be said to be a very important statement for the position of English in the second half of the twelfth century. Herebert, the new prior, whom he is addressing, is "sobrius et volubilis lingue in Gallico idiomate, utpote Normannus nacione" (the italics are mine). This makes it appear as if a native Englishman would not be expected to specialise in French in the same way as a continental, and the reference of Map to Guichart (v. *infra*, p. 181) may be remembered in this connection. It is possible that when it is stated that Guichart wrote, "suaque modo lingua, scilicet Gallica," that this is a way of saying that he was of Continental birth.

⁵⁶ The Latin and French works of Grosseteste are well known, and the preface of his *De Cessatione Legalium* states that he also wrote "verse, patrio sermone." (See Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste*, London, 1793, p. 287.) Nevertheless his introduction to his *Château d'Amour*, as has often been noted, recognises only French and Latin as possible for literature.

⁵⁷ See *Romania*, IV, 380; XV, p. 338; XXXII, p. 22; *Bulletin*, 1893, p. 43. Chambers, Nos. VIII and IX, and pp. 276-7.

probably to be identified with the descendants of the purely English bondmen. The cause of much of the neglect which Anglo-Norman literature has suffered appears from the apology that is given in the *Cambridge History* for treating the subject of Anglo-Norman at all: "It is no part of the scope of this work to encroach upon what more properly belongs to the earlier literature of a modern language other than our own (II, 475)." Such a conception of the relations of the Anglo-Norman literature, unfortunate in all its consequences, has doubtless been strengthened by the terms in which Professor Skeat has phrased his valuable studies⁵⁸ of the effect on English phonology and orthography of being written, according to his hypothesis, by scribes of the twelfth and even thirteenth centuries, accustomed to writing French, and unfamiliar with English. He speaks of these persons as if they were native-born, though of Norman blood—very much, that is, as if they were "Yorkshire Normans"—whereas the historical evidence just reviewed has shown that it is very improbable that any native-born person at this period would have a knowledge of English "so slight that he did not even know the value of some of the English

⁵⁸ *Philological Society, Transactions*, 1895-8, pp. 399 ff.; *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 3, p. 225, 4, p. 229; *Proverbs of Alfred*, ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1907. He says of the manuscript of the *Havelock*, "The spelling . . . is easily understood in the light of my discovery (in 1897) that many of our earlier MSS., especially those of the thirteenth century, abound with spellings which can only be understood rightly when we observe that the scribe was of Norman birth, and more accustomed to the spelling of Anglo-French than to that of the native language of the country, which he had acquired with some difficulty, and could not always correctly pronounce. This curious phenomenon, due to the resolute attempt on the part of the Norman to acquire English. . . ." (*The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1902, p. ix). He speaks elsewhere of the "more humble English" in contrast to the Normans. The historical evidence adduced above would make it appear that the time when the Normans made their "resolute attempt to acquire English" was probably in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen. This subject will be discussed more fully in an article, now in preparation, on the origin of the *Ancien Riule*. It should be noted that a manuscript of the *Poema Morale* cited by Miss Paues contains on the first page, as does that used by Professor Skeat as the basis of his first paper, a written list of the peculiar English characters intended apparently for the guidance of the scribe (*Anglia*, XXX, 217 ff.). But this manuscript is dated about 1300, a period apropos of which Professor Maitland writes of the English lawyer: "It is fairly certain . . . his 'cradle speech' was English" (*Selden Society*, vol. XVII, 1903, p. xxxvii).

written characters." It is possible that the calling of scribe, like some professions at every period, was commonly followed by persons of alien birth; certainly, the lack of English schooling, noted by Henry Bradley (*Cambridge History*, I, 437) would affect the English writing of natives. It is clear that this question should be reconsidered on the historical side, for the references which have been set forth above are definite in disproving the existence of racial lines after the time of Henry II, at least. The purpose of the present paper, in showing the identity of literary influences displayed by literature written in the two vernaculars, is further evidence to the same end, and similar material could be multiplied.⁵⁹ It is to some extent true, as Chambers writes, that "at the Conquest the vernacular goes underground for a couple of centuries," as far as literary purposes are concerned, but when Middle-English literature does appear, its differences from Continental French coincide to a considerable extent with the differences to be observed between Continental and insular French, and therefore disprove Chambers' further statement that during this period "England becomes for literary purposes a province of France" (p. 273). In the Middle Ages, at least, the currents of literary history do not always follow the divisions of language. When Anglo-Norman manuscripts have been duly examined and edited, it will probably be evident that here is a case in point. That happy consummation will doubtless not come to pass until Anglo-Saxon scholars lose their old-time indifference to the alien medium of the literature of some of the most powerful years of their history. As the apology of the

⁵⁹ A. Gabrielson of Upsala, the editor of *Le Sermon* of Guichart de Beaulieu, has made a study (in *Archiv*, CXXVIII, pp. 309 ff.) which might well be followed up by other investigations of the same kind. He works out the debt of *Le Sermon* to "religious learning and literature in England," by reference both to Middle English and Latin works. He finds special relations to the *Poema Morale*, which, he concludes, is to be expected, since both works were written in England about the same time (middle of the twelfth century). Chambers notes that the *Poema* has influenced strongly the later Middle-English lyrics (p. 285). G. Paris accepted the identification of the Guichart de Beaulieu of this poem with the person of that name mentioned by Map (*De nugis*, p. 19) as the "Homer of the laity," "suaque modo lingua, scilicet Gallica"; but Paul Meyer gives the opinion that "le sermon n'offre pas assez le caractère de l'antiquité pour être attribué à un poète mort en 1137." *Bulletin*, 1889, pp. 94-5.

Cambridge History would suggest, so far, most of the study of Anglo-Norman has come from French scholars, as is natural, considering the predominance of linguistic interest in mediaeval studies. However, the French are too much repelled by the provinciality of the dialect, as were their ancestors before them,⁶⁰ to give adequate attention to the subject matter, and for that, in any case, only the English, who have a knowledge of the sister literatures that were contemporary, possess the key. It is probable that the Continental ridicule cast on Anglo-Norman did in the end a great deal to kill its use, and this we cannot but think a fortunate circumstance; but a sensitiveness to the provinciality of the French of ancestors six centuries ago would be a grotesque obstacle to modern scholarship. Such an impediment, however, has actually doubtless assisted the modern distaste for literature written in an alien tongue, in keeping Anglo-Norman literature in manuscript,⁶¹ and we may be sure that our whole knowledge of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has suffered seriously in consequence.

IV

The prejudices and misapprehensions which have just been discussed have brought it about that the proportion of literature published for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England varies greatly for the three languages. Probably all the English literature that has come to light is in print, though, as we can see from the circumstances just reviewed, this literature is the least likely, being embodied in what might be called the provincial vernacular, to offer the most representative expression of the time. Much of the Latin literature is printed, especially that of the thirteenth century, when England produced some of the most famous Latin writers of Europe.⁶² Almost none of the Anglo-Norman litera-

⁶⁰ Langlois (*loc. cit.*) cites the peculiarities of Anglo-French as affording one of the stock jokes, as it were, of the Middle Ages.

⁶¹ It is a somewhat grotesque example of the international character of modern scholarship that at present Anglo-Norman literature seems to be studied principally by Scandinavians and Finns.

⁶² Jusserand, for example, writes of England in the Anglo-Norman period that it "produced some of the Latin writings which enjoyed the widest reputation through civilised Europe" (*op. cit.*, p. 176). It may be useful to quote

ture of the thirteenth century is accessible, though most of what was produced in the twelfth century has been edited, since that is considered to make part of French literature; and indeed in many important cases⁶³ it has not been possible to determine whether texts circulating in England were first composed there or in France. Altogether, however, when we approach the literature produced in England during the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries with the intention of grouping it all together as expressive of the same influences, there are several landmarks pointing the way to the Middle-English mystical movement, as plainly as do the lyrics of the *Manuel*.

As was pointed out by Professor Schofield (p. 33), the effect on the future history of literature in England of the sixteen years' residence of Anselm as head of the national Church, was probably very great; for Anselm was the foremost ecclesiastical writer of his time. Though in general Anselm's influence has been traced in the history of scholasticism, it is probable that it was also very strong in the history of mysticism. When, as Abbot of Bec, he first appears in Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, we are told that "contemplativae vitae totus intendebat."⁶⁴ It is true that he had little concern with the development of mystical theology, but in the growth of the mystical type of personal devotion his share seems to have been great, and this, rather than metaphysics or visions, was to the last the principal element of English mysticism. Parts of his *Prayers and Meditations*⁶⁵ may almost be said to set the type for from the very just (unsigned) review of Jusserand's history in *Romania* (XXIII, p. 494):

"Il a compris que l'activité littéraire des Anglais du xii^e et xiii^e siècles, qui s'est exprimée en français, n'en appartient pas moins à l'histoire littéraire du peuple anglais. Son esquisse, juste mais sommaire, fait désirer encore plus vivement cette histoire de la littérature anglo-normande qui est aujourd'hui, on peut le dire, un véritable besoin de la science. Le sujet, peu attrayant au premier abord, est en réalité un des plus beaux et des plus féconds que puisse offrir le moyen âge."

Paul Meyer elsewhere expresses his intention of supplying this lack, but unfortunately he never did so.

⁶³ Important examples are the *Adam* (the first vernacular drama), the Canterbury and Oxford Psalters, *Four Books of Kings*, etc.

⁶⁴ Rolls Series, London, 1884, p. 23.

⁶⁵ Migne, CLVIII. It should be noted that some of these pieces are not at all mystical, and also that there has been considerable discussion as to the

the characteristics of English mysticism just under discussion,⁶⁶ and they even contain references to the Name of Jesus, the devotional authenticity of many. This has specially arisen because of the discovery by Mabillon of a late eleventh century manuscript in which many are combined with extracts from St. Augustine, and the whole prefaced by a letter from John (an Italian), Abbot of Fécamp, to the Empress Agnes. Abbot John died in 1078, and he has been thought to have been the real author. Migne, however, decides that he was rather a borrower from Anselm, who, while at Bec, was his neighbor, and, as we know from a letter by the Abbot of Casa Dei, had allowed some of these devotional writings to circulate among the neighboring monasteries at this time (*Patrologiae Cursus*, XL, c. 897 ff.; CXLVII, c. 443 ff.; CLVIII, c. 35-6). It should be noted that Fécamp had a close connection with England, as will be shown in my paper on the *Ancren Riwe*. Some of the same passages as are attached to John are also part of the work known as the "Meditations of St. Augustine." Hauréau writes as follows:

"Il est aujourd'hui généralement admis que saint Augustin n'a pas tant médité, et plus ou moins de manuscrits rapportent à saint Anselme la plupart des pièces que les anciens éditeurs de saint Augustin ont assez mal ordonnées sous ce titre commun de *Méditations*. Il nous semble que les derniers éditeurs de saint Anselme ont commis la même faute, associant à leur tour, sous le nom de saint Anselme, un nombre considérable de *Méditations* et d'*Oraisons* qui ne sont pas toutes de la même plume. Nous lui laissons toutefois celle dont il s'agit ici, mais sans prendre l'engagement de ne pas la réclamer un jour pour quelque autre" (*Notices*, VI, 180).

Migne takes up the authenticity of each piece and accepts all that are here referred to. Hauréau several times refers to Anselm in terms that imply his mysticism (I, 78; II, 61; in the appendix published in the series, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXVII, 5). It should be noted that modern writers differ as to the merits of Anselm's devotional pieces. Mr. H. O. Taylor finds them cold: "One thinks that his feelings rarely distorted his countenance, or wet it with tears" (*op. cit.*, I, 277). This statement is in contrast to the general opinion, both ancient and modern. A. Charma writes: "Si le chrétien cherche une riche et ardente expression pour son enthousiasme religieux, pour sa pieuse ferveur, qu'il ouvre les *Oraisons d'Anselme*" (*Sainte Anselme*, Paris, 1853, p. 115). J. M. Riggs says of the *Meditations*: "His Christolatry is of the noblest Catholic type, blended of the reverence due to God, the loyalty of a vassal to his feudal lord, the love that passeth the love of women, the ecstasy of the mystic" (*St. Anselm of Canterbury*, London, 1896, p. 87). It will be seen that these words agree very well with the description of English mystics already cited. It may be noted that two of the *Meditations* are found in manuscripts with Rolle's name (see my Catalogue of his writings, now in preparation), and three are attached to the *Vita Reclusarum* of St. Aelred, and it is uncertain which is the true author. The present extracts show many points of agreement with Rolle's mysticism, as sketched in my article on the Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15, pp. 115 ff.). The generalisations made there from the scanty materials in print remain true after an investigation of Rolle's writings in manuscript.

⁶⁶ Vide *supra*, pp. 167 f.

tion which was later to be so popular in England—of which the lyrics of the *Manuel* furnish an example. The following passages may be quoted:

Scribe digito tuo in pectore meo dulcem memoriam tui melliflui nominis, nulla unquam oblivione delendam. . . . Succende mentem meam igne illo tuo quem misisti in terram (*Oratio* xvi). . . . Jesu bone, quam dulcis es in corde cogitantis de te et diligentis te! Et certe nescio, quia nec plene comprehendere valeo, unde hoc est quod longe dulcior es in corde diligentis te, in eo quod caro es, quam in eo quod Verbum; dulcior in eo quod humilis, quam in eo quod sublimis (*Meditatio* xii). . . . Dulcis Christe, bone Jesu, reple semper, quaeso, cor meum inextinguibili dilectione tua, continua recordatione tua; adeo ut sicut flamma urens totus ardeam in tui amoris dulcedine, quem et aquae multae in me nunquam possunt exstinguere (*Oratio* xvii). . . . Multae denique sunt contemplationes, quibus anima devota tibi mirabiliter pascitur, sed in nulla earum ita delectatur et requiescit anima mea sicut in te, et quando te solum cogitat et contemplatur. Quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam mirabiliter inspiras cordibus amatorum tuorum! Quam mira suavitas amoris tui, quo perfruuntur illi qui nihil praeter te diligunt, nihil quaerunt, nihil enim cogitare concupiscunt (*Oratio* xix).

On the origin of these pieces we have the excellent authority of Eadmer, as follows:

In orationibus autem quas ipse juxta desiderium et petitionem amicorum suorum scriptas edidit, qua sollicitudine, quo timore, qua spe, quo amore Deum et sanctos ejus interpellaverit, necne interpellandos docuerit, satis est, et me tacente, videre: sit modo qui eis pie intendat, et spero quia cordis ejus affectum suumque perfectum in illis et per illas gaudens percipiet.⁶⁷

Since these pieces represented Anselm's own devotional exercises, it is probable that in private intercourse he would have stimulated the type of devotion which they express. All over Europe it is said that they were more copied than any other part of his writings,⁶⁸ but it is probable that the element of his influence which

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁶⁸ Il est juste d'ajouter que dans ces mss. du moyen âge les *Prîères* de saint Anselme occupent une place incomparablement plus grande que ses autres écrits. Le nombre extraordinaire de copies qui nous restent de ces prières en atteste la diffusion véritablement immense. Plusieurs de ces copies étaient des manuels de prière, les uns portatifs, et sortes de livres de poche, comme le ms. 2882 de la collection harléienne" (*St. Anselme*, by le Père Raguey, Paris et Lyons, 1889, I, 415, n. 1).

they represent would be stronger than elsewhere, in the regions where there remained the traces of his presence.

Definite evidence is forthcoming from England of the high esteem in which these pieces were held before the general taste of Europe had set towards mystical devotions. William of Malmesbury writes of Anselm as follows:

Orationum et meditationum ejus instantiam indicat liber de his, Spiritu sancto, ut credimus, dictante, conscriptus, cujus ipse affluentiam bibulis hauserat medullis; soliloquiorum etiam ad se et allocutionem ad Deum libri, quibus cogitata omnium antecessorum evicit, vel, ut mitius dicam, in unum acervum coegit.⁶⁹

We are told that Thomas À Becket used them in preparation for offering Mass. His chaplain, Herbert de Boseham, writes as follows:

Frequentius ea hora habebat in manibus quendam orationum libellum, quasi suum enchiridion; quem unus praedecessorum suorum, . . . beatus Anselmus, stylo sicut salubriter pungativo et pungative salubri et eleganti, ex intimis sanctae devotionis suae medullis exceperat. Hunc, inquam, habebat, ibidem ab oratione ad lectionem se excipiens.⁷⁰

Definite signs are not lacking of the connection of Anselm's devotional pieces with later mystical works. Significant landmarks of early English mysticism are the English pieces, written in poetical prose, generally entitled "On Ureisun of oure Louerde," "On Lofsong of ure Louerd," and "þe Wohunge of ure Lauerd."⁷¹ These, as may be guessed from their titles, follow the tradition of mystical writing which we have been discussing, and it is interesting to observe that Vollhardt⁷² has shown that they are full of reminiscences of the Prayers and Meditations of Anselm. It is even more interesting to find that Miss Peebles⁷³ has pointed out that

⁶⁹ *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Rolls Series, 1870, p. 76.

⁷⁰ *Materials for the History of Thomas À Becket*, III, 210.

⁷¹ Printed by Morris, *EETS.*, No. XXIX. An attempt has been made to prove Edmund Rich to be the author of *On God Ureisun of ure lefde* (W. Marufke, *Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte*, No. XIII, 1907), but the evidence does not seem to be very substantial.

⁷² *Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Litteratur . . .*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 41 ff.

⁷³ *The Legend of Longinus*, Bryn Mawr College Monographs, No. IX, p. 86, n.

the "Talking of the Love of God,"⁷⁴ which is ascribed to the "school" of Rolle in the late fourteenth century, and has always been taken as an extreme example of its school, is merely a combination of two of the ecstatic prose pieces, just mentioned, of which the date cannot be later than the early part of the thirteenth century and may be earlier. The whole development of English mysticism may turn out to be indicated in the genealogy of the "Talking of the Love of God." And the style of this production, no less than the substance, seems to fall in the direct line of descent from Anselm. The author, more specific than most of his fellows who used poetical prose throughout these centuries, announces at once that "Men schal fynden lihtliche þis tretys in Cadence"⁷⁵ after þe bigynninge gif hit beo riht poynted; & Rymed in sum stude; to beo more louesum to hem þat hit reden"; and in so doing he was following not only the custom of his near predecessor, Rolle⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Printed, Horstmann, II, 345 ff.

⁷⁵ This passage is perhaps important in clearing up the disputed question of the meaning of "cadence" when applied to Chaucer's works in the *House of Fame* (II, 623; see ed. by Skeat, 1894, p. 257, and Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*, London, 1906, I, 160, n.). In our present case the word seems to mean "rhythmical prose," and it could in this sense be well applied to the *Boethius*, which altogether follows a type of style not unlike Rolle's in the *Meditations on the Passion*, or in his Latin works, or that of other rhythmical treatises of the time,—as, for example, those in Harleian MS. 674 (part of which in a modernised text have been printed in the *Cloud of Unknowing*, already mentioned, and in the *Cell of Self Knowledge*, ed. E. G. Gardner, London, 1913). The type which Chaucer's English follows in the *Boethius* will be better understood, when these and other unedited landmarks of fourteenth century poetical prose are printed in the original texts. I hope to continue this subject in connection with the prose style of Rolle. In this connection a heading may also be quoted from one of John Shirley's MSS. (Ashmole 59): "Here now foloweþe next a scripture in latyn prosed in fayre cadence" (see *Anglia*, XXX, p. 332). It should be noted that the rhythm and rhyme in the *Imitation of Christ* has been taken as a sign of Æ Kempis' authorship (see J. E. G. De Montmorency, *Thomas À Kempis, His Age and Book*, London, 1907, 2d edit., p. 139). It is evident that the widespread use of similar style in the Middle Ages has not been sufficiently understood. It should be noted also that a partial text of the *Imitation* exists in several manuscripts ascribed to Walter Hilton.

⁷⁶ Rolle's Latin works are full of rhythm, rhyme, assonance, alliteration, and poetical ornaments generally, as may be seen by reference to the quotation from the *Melum* (the most extreme example), already given, or to the *Incendium Amoris*, his only Latin work which has received a modern edition (ed. M. Deanesly, Manchester University Press, 1915). The same style is to be seen to a less degree in his English works (Horstmann, I, pp. 3-103, *Psalter*, ed. Bram-

(from whose influence Horstmann derives the style), but also of 'Anselm, who fills many of his devotional pieces with rhythm, assonance, and rhyme.⁷⁷ One Meditation, indeed, ascribed to him in its unique manuscript, has been printed by its editor in rhythmical lines,⁷⁸ and it even shows traces of the alliteration which was so prominent a characteristic of the poetical prose of the English mystical movement in several generations.⁷⁹

Between the time of Anselm and the flowering of the mystical movement in the fourteenth century, there were two general religious revivals in England, as elsewhere in Christendom. These were the Coming of the Cistercians and the Coming of the Friars. During Stephen's reign, the external anarchy of the country was apparently a stimulus for strengthening the religious life, and the building of churches and monasteries went on at an unequalled pace.⁸⁰ One of the first Cistercian abbots was Aelred,⁸¹ who had

ley, Oxford, 1884). His *Meditations on the Passion* may specially be pointed out as a fair example to compare with Anselm. They use rhythm, rhyme, and alliteration (see pp. 87-8).

⁷⁷ See for an example of rhyme, Oratio XVII: "Jesu nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium, Deus de Deo, adesto mihi famulo tuo. Te invoco, ad te clamo clamore magno in toto corde meo." Compare Rolfe's Latin Psalter (ed. Cologne, 1536), Ps. LXX, 8: "Te enim cogito cum cantico suscepto in mente mea sono coelico," and many other passages.

⁷⁸ See Bourgain, *La Chaire française au XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1879, 373 ff. Since this piece occurs in a single manuscript, the ascription to St. Anselm may appear doubtful. It should be noted, however, that it is addressed to St. Mary Magdalene, a somewhat unusual subject, and that St. Anselm shows a special veneration for her in other pieces. Oratio LXXIV is addressed to her, and Hauréau notes two other prayers addressed to her which are ascribed in the manuscript to St. Anselm (VI, 187). Oratio XVI also offers her an eloquent apostrophe. It should be noted that many meditations and prayers ascribed to St. Anselm are said to be unedited (Ragey, I, 414, n. 4). The following alliterative sentence may be quoted from the Meditation printed by Bourgain: "Certe nil sapiebat Maria, nisi diligere et pro dilecto dolere" (p. 375).

⁷⁹ It may be noted that the alliterative Life of St. Margaret contains, in the addresses of St. Margaret to the Saviour, traces of the same mysticism as the poetical prose pieces, as "Loke lauerd to me mi lif, mi luue. mi leouemon. milce me. bi meiden." (EETS., No. XIII, 8).

⁸⁰ See *Historical Studies* of J. R. Green, London, 1903, p. 171 ("the first of those great religious movements which England was destined afterwards to experience"); *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, London, 1887, I, 356 f. ("The only bright pages in the story of those 'nineteen winters' are the pages in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* which tell of the progress and the work of the new religious orders").

⁸¹ See *Lives of the English Saints*, London, 1845, No. 13.

been closely connected with the court of Scotland, and the family of St. Margaret, with its tradition for devotion; and his rules for recluses and works on charity—all written in Latin⁸²—had showed, in the words of Ten Brink, "a subjective intensity related to mysticism" (I, 129). His works, like those of the far greater Cistercian, St. Bernard, were copied widely along with those of later English mystics, and his English contemporary, Gilbert of Hoilandia, the continuator of St. Bernard's Sermons on the Canticles, writes of him: "Prudens erat eloquii mystici, quod inter perfectos dispensabat."⁸³ Some of the mysticism that was being lived in his day may be understood by reference to his description of a house of the newly-founded Gilbertine order,⁸⁴ the only English order founded at any period. In one,

"inter monasteria virginum quae vir venerabilis ac Deo dilectus, pater et presbyter Gillebertus per diversas Angliae provincias miro fervore construxit. . . . Christi ancillae, inter quotidiana manuum opera consuetudinemque psallendi; spiritualibus mancipantur officiis ac coelestibus intersunt theoriis, ut pleraque quasi valedictentes mundo et omnibus quae mundi sunt, saepe in quosdam indicibiles rapiantur excessus, et angelicis videantur interesse choris" (c. 789).

Elsewhere he again describes the heights of ecstasy attained by Gilbertine sisters, and, especially, one ineffable vision of Christ (c. 370). According to a conjecture about to be made, the *Ancren Riwe*,⁸⁵ which follows the tradition that we are tracing so closely, belongs to the movement represented by St. Aelred and St. Gilbert, contemporaries and close associates, whose work, on internal evidence, approaches the famous rule of anchoresses so nearly; and the ecstatic pieces already mentioned might also by internal evidence seem to belong to the same group.⁸⁶

⁸² His works are printed by Migne (*PL.*, CXCV).

⁸³ Migne, CLXXXIV, No. XLI, c. 217. Some of the Sermons on the Canticles are addressed to men and some to women, and the editor conjectures that the house of which Gilbert was Abbot was a double one, like those of the Gilbertine order—he evidently confuses the author with Gilbert of Sempringham, *v. c.* 10. At the same time he calls Gilbert de Hoilandia a Cistercian.

⁸⁴ The Gilbertine order was highly characteristic of the time, as will be shown in my article on the *Ancren Riwe*.

⁸⁵ Camden Society, 1852.

⁸⁶ Einkenkel attempted to prove that the ecstatic pieces were connected with the *Ancren Riwe*, and were written by one author, who was a woman (*Anglia*,

We have no present means of knowing whether the mystical Middle-English lyrics of the earliest period, and the similar Anglo-Norman examples—especially those of the Lambeth manuscript, already mentioned—are any of them directly connected with the Coming of the Friars, the great religious stimulus of the thirteenth century. Since some occur in fourteenth century manuscripts only, it is possible that they may not go back to the thirteenth. But "it is at least curious," says Chambers, "that the only two names to which religious lyrics attach themselves in this [thirteenth] century are both those of Minorites" (p. 288). One of these poems mentioned, the "Love Rune"⁸⁷ of Friar Thomas de Hales, is a perfect example of the type of devotion here discussed. With it may be grouped the very similar "Clean Maidenhood"⁸⁸ which, though it exists only in a late copy, would appear to be contemporary with the *Rune*. The *Plainte d'Amour* has been connected with Franciscanism, and even with Bozon.⁸⁹ Other influential poems of the thirteenth century, calculated to stimulate a mystical devotion, were addressed in Latin both to the Virgin and to the Saviour by John Houeden, chaplain of the mother of Edward I.⁹⁰ An Anglo-Norman poem, seemingly of a mystical character, is ascribed to him in one manuscript.⁹¹

Among the expressions of English mysticism in three languages, just listed, the images and phraseology of one language may be matched in another. The ardent terms of address to Christ used in St. Edmund's prayer, are reproduced, almost *verbatim*, in the V, 265 ff.). Vollhardt shows how unnecessary it is to assume feminine authorship, but it should be noted that the movement with which these pieces is apparently connected is specially concerned with the religious training of women. Einkenkel's work at least brings out a general relationship between the pieces, though nothing close enough to necessitate common authorship. This subject will be continued in my article on the *Ancren Riwele*.

⁸⁷ *EETS.*, No. XLIX, 93 ff. Ten Brink notes (p. 208) that Thomas de Hales is once "honorably mentioned" in the letters of Adam Marsh (in that addressed to Thomas of York).

⁸⁸ *EETS.*, No. CXVII, 464 ff. The similarity of these two poems is brought out by Wells, *Modern Language Review*, IX, 236-7.

⁸⁹ *V. infra*, p. 191.

⁹⁰ The titles and first stanzas of these poems are given in *Essays on Chaucer*, *loc. cit.* The headings are framed in mystical phraseology.

⁹¹ In a manuscript of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which is referred to *ibid.*

fourteenth century English lyrics,⁹² and the courting of the soul by Christ, the Heavenly Lover, expressed in the *Love Rune*, the *Ancren Riwle*, or the ecstatic prose poems, appears also in the Sermons on the Canticles of Gilbert of Hoilandia (some of them addressed to women), or in Anglo-Norman mystical lyrics.⁹³ The allegorical search for Love, expressed in the *Plainte d'Amour* in a form resembling the satire on the *états*, so popular at the time, is expressed as a Meditation on the Passion (a form equally popular, though so different) in the beautiful English lyric "Crist made to man a fair present."⁹⁴ It is interesting to observe that the two copies of this

⁹² Compare with the first lines of the French (*v. infra*, p. 156), the following from a lyric attached to Rolle's epistle *Ego Dormio* (Horstmann, I, 60):

"Ihesu my sauouure, Ihesu my confortoure, of al my fayrnes flowre, my helpe & my sokoure,"

or the following from a lyric generally connected with his "school" (*ibid.*, 365):

"Ihesu, þat es my saueoure,
 Pou be my Ioy and my solace,
 My helpe, my hele, my confortoure,
 And my socoure in ilke a place."

⁹³ Compare especially the lyric "Cuard est (cil) ke amer n'ose" . . . printed by Stengel (*Codicem Manu Scriptum Digby 86*, Halle, 1871, p. 128), and several times elsewhere. The theme appears in the lines:

"(Cil) Ke ueot amur sans pesance
 Un amy luy sai (ieo) mustrer
 Ki est d(e) (une) si grant pussance,
 K(e) a lui ne puet riens arester;
 Reys est e gentil de neyssanse,
 En beaute n'ad (il) point de per
 Ne en sauer (c'est) sans du'ansce,
 Suf est e tres duz de quer,
 Ceo est Ihesu le deboneire." . . .

⁹⁴ *Reliquae Antiquae*, ed. Wright and Halliwell, London, 1841, I, 104: *La Plainte d'Amour*, ed. J. Vising, Göteborg, 1905 (a rare publication, kindly lent me by Professor Sheldon). Vising attempts to establish Bozon's authorship. The poems begin as follows:

"Amur, Amur, ou estes vous?
 Certes, sire, en poi de lius, . . .
 Vus feites deu a nus descendre,
 Vus li priastes de char prendre,

E il vus granta.
 Par vostre priere il vout soffrir

"Crist made to man a fair present,
 His bloody body with love y-brent,
 That blisful body his lyf hath sent,
 For love of man whom sin hath
 blent.
 O, love! love! what hastow ment?
 Me thyngeth that love to wraththe
 is went,

poem known⁹⁵ place it in suitable company. In one, an English epistle of Richard Rolle follows, and in the other, a verse translation into English of the *Dulcis Jesu Memoria* precedes. And the very spiritualised treatment which the mystical epistles of Rolle⁹⁶ give to the subject of external religious exercises, finds a match in an Anglo-Norman treatise.⁹⁷ The *Ancren Riwele* had followed

Peine e dolor e puis morir,

E ceo nus sauva." . . .

Thi loveliche hondes love hath to-
rent,

And thi lithe armes wel streyte
y-tent." . . .

Near the end comes the following (the French poem is many times the length of the English):

"Si vus me volez embracer,
Ne vus estuet trop travailler
Pur moi quere.
Vus me trovez ou Jhesu Crist;
La est ma chambre e mon lit
Tut hors de guere."

"Love, love, wher shaltow wone?
Thy wonyng stede is the bynome.
For Cristes that was thyn home,
He is deed, now hastow none.
Love, love, why dostow so?
Love, thow brekest myn herte a-two."

M. Meyer connects the *Plainte* with Franciscanism, but it would appear that this ought not to connect it exclusively with the Franciscan order. The relationship might well be only a spiritual one. It should be noted that the English lyric presents some of the same peculiarities of metre as do the French lyrics of the *Manuel*. These display a great irregularity of rhyme. Sometimes they use a single rhyme for many lines, sometimes they rhyme in couplets. In this connection see P. Meyer, *Bribes de littérature anglo-normande, Jahrbuch für rom. u. engl. lit.*, VII, 44, where he notes that a certain metre is frequent in England, being found in the literature of all three current languages. The continuity of metres throughout the literary production of the country in all mediums would merit study.—With the English lyric quoted above may be quoted the lyric of Wullaumes de Bethune, of the last third of the thirteenth century, as follows:

"Puisque jou sui de lamoureuse loi
Que Jhesucris vaut croistre et essaucier,
Quant par amours fist de son cors envoi
Pour nous sauver, moi voel esleechier."

(Järnström, *op. cit.*, p. 159.)

The rest of the lyric describes Christ as a feudal knight.—It would appear that analogies to Anglo-Norman mysticism found in French poetry usually emanate from the North. For other examples see *Bulletin*, 1907, pp. 44 f., *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 35.

⁹⁵ See Brown, *Register*. This unusually beautiful lyric was first pointed out to me by Professor Brown.

⁹⁶ Published, Horstmann, I, 3-71.

⁹⁷ The first lines of this treatise are printed by M. Meyer (*Romania*, XIII, p. 62), but we have no means of knowing how much mysticism the rest of the

the same tradition in this regard, and it was characteristic of the mystics after Rolle.⁹⁸

The summary that has been given of the mystical tradition in England has been necessarily a rough one, drawn from very incomplete materials. It is probably sufficient, however, to show that a movement towards mysticism was especially evident in England before the great mystical outburst of the later Middle Ages, general throughout Europe. It is therefore clear that before the history of the Middle-English mystical movement is written, the literature of the earlier centuries—and, along with the Latin and English productions, the Anglo-Norman also—must be examined. The mysticism to be observed in the Anglo-Norman lyrics of the *Manuel* is, in any case, very characteristic of English mysticism in general.

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text contains. The manuscript is of the middle of the fourteenth century, and it is of course possible that the treatise is no earlier. In that case it would be contemporary with Rolle, with whose admonitions against the mere "habit of holiness" it may be compared:

"Pur ceo covent ke si homme de religiun se mustre deors, ke teil ou meillur seit dedens." . . .

"I Knawe þat þi lyfe es gyen to þe seruyce of god. Þan es it schame til þe, bot if þou be als gode, or better with-in þi sawle, als þou ert semand at þe syght of men" (Horstmann, p. 16).

⁹⁸ See Walter Hilton, *op. cit.*

UNA NUEVA VARIEDAD DE LA EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE DEL "QUIJOTE"

CON el objeto de conmemorar el tercer centenario de la muerte de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, la Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York, organizó en abril de 1916, bajo la dirección de Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, Conservador de manuscritos, una exposición de las obras de Cervantes. Al visitarla con el detenimiento que tal acontecimiento bibliográfico merecía, me detuve ante el ejemplar de la edición príncipe de la primera parte de *Don Quijote* (Madrid, Cuesta, Con privilegio, 1605) que allí se exponía, y al pronto noté discrepancias en la portada que la diferenciaba de la de los ejemplares hasta ahora conocidos, como, entre otros, el de Bonsoms, descrito por Rius,¹ el de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid² y el de la *Hispanic Society* de Nueva York.

Picada mi curiosidad bibliográfica, hice gestiones para poder examinar el ejemplar. Se me informó que no pertenecía a la Biblioteca, sino a un bibliófilo neoyorquino que deseaba ocultar su nombre, quien lo había prestado a aquélla para su exhibición.

Llamé al punto la atención al Presidente de la *Hispanic Society*, Mr. Archer M. Huntington, quien algunos meses después logró adquirirlo y tuvo la amabilidad de ponerlo en mis manos por tiempo ilimitado, permitiéndome así hacer un estudio detallado y completo del rarísimo ejemplar. Gracias le sean dadas, pues, al benemérito hispanista norteamericano.

Rastreé los antecedentes del precioso libro y logré primero deshacer el incógnito de su último poseedor, cosa que me era indispensable para indagar la procedencia del ejemplar. El afortunado bibliófilo neoyorquino no era otro que Mr. Henry E. Huntington, primo del Presidente de la Sociedad Hispánica de América. Mr. Huntington lo obtuvo en la venta de la biblioteca del no menos dis-

¹ Leopoldo Rius, *Bibliografía Crítica de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. Madrid, t. I, 1895, ps. 1-4.

² *Catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en la Biblioteca Nacional en el tercer centenario de la publicación del Quijote*. Madrid, 1905.

tinguido bibliófilo norteamericano Elihu D. Church, fallecido en 1908, quien a su vez lo había adquirido a la muerte del poeta inglés Locker-Lampson, acaecida en Rowfant (Inglaterra) en 1895, y éste había logrado que se le adjudicara en la subasta efectuada en París, en 1892, de la biblioteca de D. Ricardo Heredia, poseedor que era, como se sabe, de la de Salvá. De modo y manera que el ejemplar de que se trata es el mismísimo de Salvá, que pasó de la biblioteca de éste a la de Heredia, después a la de Locker-Lampson, luego a la de Church y, por último, a la de Mr. H. E. Huntington. Mas en esa odisea sufrió modificaciones, como ahora se verá.

En el *Catálogo* de Salvá (1872)³ se halla la descripción del ejemplar y una copia tipográfica de la portada, que concuerda con la que se conoce como de la edición príncipe. Dice *Benalcazar*, *Burguillos* y CON PRIVILEGIO únicamente, tiene una coma después de LA MANCHA, la *M* de *Miguel* es una versal cursiva sin rasgo alguno y el penúltimo renglón es más corto que el último. Mientras que la portada actual, aunque dice *Benalcazar* y CON PRIVILEGIO, presenta la errata *Burgillos* que hasta ahora no se había visto sino en la segunda edición de Cuesta. Además hay, como en ésta, un punto después de LA MANCHA, en vez de una coma; la *M* de *Miguel* tiene rasgos arqueados, y los dos últimos renglones son aparentemente de igual longitud. En cambio, le falta, para ser la segunda, la errata *Barcelona* y el *Con privilegio de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal*.

Sigamos el camino ya trazado, recorrido por el ejemplar de Salvá, con el propósito de resolver el enigma. En el segundo tomo del catálogo publicado en París en 1892, con motivo de la venta en pública subasta de la biblioteca de Heredia,⁴ se lee la siguiente nota al pie de la descripción bibliográfica del libro: "Exemplaire de Salvá (num. 1543), grand de marges, et couvert depuis d'une riche reliure au chiffre de M. Ricardo Heredia, mais avec le titre et quelques ff. très habilement refaits." Subrayo yo. De manera que, después, es decir, al pasar a ser propiedad de Heredia, se había encuadernado lujosamente con la cifra del conde, y se había rehecho muy hábilmente la portada y algunos folios. Y, en efecto, en lo

³ Tomo II, p. 36, número 1543.

⁴ *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia. Deuxième partie.* Paris, 1892, p. 372.

tocante a la primera, en el facsímile de la misma publicado en el referido catálogo,⁵ aparece con los cambios que ofrece actualmente y que la hacen diferir de la que poseía en tiempos de Salvá.

En el apéndice del catálogo de la biblioteca de Locker-Lampson (1900),⁶ donde se describe el mismo ejemplar, se hace constar la errata *Burgillos* y la de la signatura P3 por S3, y se manifiesta lo que traduzco a continuación: "La portada, el folio ¶¶ 2 y un fragmento de 13 letras del folio 161 se han suplido en facsímile. El pasaje del rosario se halla al f. 132. . . . Este ejemplar procede de las colecciones de Salvá y Heredia, del último de los cuales lo adquirió Federico Locker en 1892. El catálogo de Salvá describe el libro como perfecto; el autor del catálogo de Heredia lo describe, años después, como imperfecto, con la portada y dos o tres hojas, según dice, sustituidas en facsímile [el original dice, como hemos visto: *la portada y algunos folios muy hábilmente rehechos*]; pero no el folio 132 que identifica la edición. El libro, según cuidadoso examen hecho por las autoridades bibliográficas del Museo Británico, se halla actualmente en perfecto estado excepto la portada, el folio ¶¶ 2, y un fragmento de trece letras en el folio 161, que se han suplido en facsímile, según antes se ha dicho."

Y, por último, del catálogo de la biblioteca de Church (1909), por George W. Cole,⁷ tomo los subsiguientes nuevos datos:

En el ejemplar de que se trata, dice, hay ahora una extensa nota suscrita por Michael Kerney y fechada a 28 de mayo de 1892 y dos notas en lápiz del poeta Locker-Lampson.

Traduzco la primera de éste y la de aquél, que son las que se relacionan con este asunto:

"Mr. Kearney,⁸ persona muy perita y bibliófilo sumamente experimentado, que ha trabajado durante muchos años con Mr. Bernard Quaritch, me envió el siguiente testimonio, a instancias de Mr. Q. [uaritch]:"

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁶ *An Appendix to the Rowfant Library. A Catalogue of the Printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, etc., collected . . . by the late Frederick Locker-Lampson.* London, MCM, p. 115.

⁷ *A Catalogue of books consisting of English Literature and miscellanea . . . forming a part of the Library of E. D. Church.* New York, 1909, vol. I, núm. 228, ps. 289 y 290.

⁸ El apellido Kerney se escribe también Kearney. Locker-Lampson usa esta forma; en cambio el posesor firma Kerney.

"Cervantes, Don Quixote. Madrid, Iuan de la Cuesta, 1605. Es positivamente la primera edición y está en perfecto estado excepto un fragmento del folio 161, el cual se ha reemplazado en facsimile. Se han utilizado dos ejemplares para formar éste completo. El que sirvió de base estaba sucio y manchado y el encuadernador se vió precisado a lavarlo tanto que varias hojas (las 138, 139, 143, 176, 240, 241 y las cuatro de la tabla) lucen de dudosa autenticidad; pero estoy persuadido de que todas son genuinas. Al libro, por consiguiente, no le falta nada, si se exceptúan las trece letras del folio 161, que ya hemos mencionado."

A continuación hace constar que contiene en el folio 132 el pasaje del rosario para hacer el cual "rasgó vna gran tira de las faldas de la camisa, que andauan colgando, y diole honze ñudos, el vno mas gordo que los demas," pasaje modificado en las ediciones posteriores, "excepto sólo en la de Lisboa que apareció casi inmediatamente después de la príncipe." En esto se equivoca Mr. Kerney, pues tampoco se modificó en la segunda edición de Lisboa, o sea la de Crasbeeck.

Pero Mr. Kerney no dice nada respecto de la portada ni del folio ¶¶ 2.

En la página 291 del propio catálogo se reproduce en facsimile la portada y coincide en todo con la reproducción del catálogo de Heredia.

Hasta aquí los antecedentes. Ahora describiré el ejemplar tal como lo hallé al entregármelo el Sr. Huntington en la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society*, sin repetir, desde luego, lo que coincide con la descripción de Salvá y lo que se ha publicado en los catálogos de Heredia, Locker-Lampson y Church. Después haré un estudio comparativo completo del texto, cosa que nadie ha hecho antes de ahora, y en el cual se verá que he descubierto nada menos que 143 variantes, la mayor parte de las cuales no se halla en ninguna de las ediciones de Cuesta de la primera parte hasta ahora conocidas, lo cual me suministra una base bastante sólida para creer en el descubrimiento de una nueva variedad de la edición príncipe, si no de una nueva edición.

Antes de todo, el preciado libro se halla embutido en un primoroso estuche de piel de zapa de color rojo.

Sacado de él, lo primero que atrae la mirada es la lujosa encua-

dernación de taflete encarnado, con encaje y cortes dorados, hecha por Chambolle-Duru. Abierto, se ven doubles guardas jaspeadas, y dos hojas en blanco al principio y otras dos al final añadidas por el encuadernador. Conserva los ex-libris de Heredia, Frederick Locker y E. D. Church; en una de las hojas en blanco se lee una copia manuscrita de la descripción del ejemplar impresa en el *Catálogo* de la Biblioteca de Salvá, y al final una nota en lápiz en inglés, en la que se hace referencia a la descripción hecha por el mismo Salvá en el *Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books* de la librería de éste, 124 Regent Street, London, 1826, del mismo ejemplar quizás. Más adelante se halla pegada una nota impresa en francés que, entre otros datos sabidos, dice lo que a continuación traduzco: "Hermoso ejemplar de Salvá (num. 1543), de grandes márgenes; encuadernado posteriormente con lujosa encuadernación con el monograma del Sr. Ricardo Heredia. Altura: 200 mm." Esa altura, hay que añadir, es de la hoja con los márgenes. La anchura de la misma es de 137 mm. Las medidas de la plana en el texto son de 168 x 98 mm. como promedio, pues algunas planas varían un tanto.

Luego, en inglés, otra nota importantísima que ha permanecido inédita hasta ahora y que traduzco a renglón seguido:

"El Sr. Graves del Museo Británico cree que este ejemplar de la primera edición de Don Quixote fué un ejemplar muy sucio que ha sido muy lavado y en ciertos lugares remendado. Está de acuerdo en que la portada ha sido fabricada según una descripción impresa y según la portada de la segunda edición. Además, rechaza como genuina la hoja ¶¶ 2, pues la filigrana difiere de todas las demás del libro. Se cree que el folio 114 es genuino, pero hábilmente remendado. La palabra *ayadaros* a la vuelta del mismo, línea 5^a empezando por abajo, se lee *ayударos* en el ejemplar del Museo Británico. 25 de marzo de 1899."

La descripción de la portada se ha visto más arriba. Lo que nadie ha hecho constar es la filigrana de la misma, que representa una estrella dentro de un círculo, filigrana de la que sólo se ve la mitad por estar al borde del papel. Esa filigrana no se halla en el resto del libro.

Los folios 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (por errata 7), y 9 son de diferente papel que el resto del libro y de distinto tipo de letra en el enca-

bezamiento, o sea en la abreviatura *Fol.* de la primera hoja del texto, y en el número respectivo de las demás y en el título corriente: *Primera Parte de don* [a la izquierda] y *Quixote de la Mancha* [a la derecha].

Están manchados los cuarenta y seis folios que siguen: 37, 73, 80, 100, 101v., 113, 114, 115, 119, 126, 127, 129v., 146, 159, 161, 167, 183 (por error 182), 184, 185, 190, 191, 200, 201, 202, 219, 222, 223, 224, 234v., 239, del 242 al 254, 263, 274 y 299.

Los ciento veinticinco folios siguientes fueron marcados con una cruz hecha con lápiz, y después borrada; pero la marca que ha dejado es bastante para que se la distinga claramente: 100v., 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108v., 141v., 148, del 151 al 167, del 170 al 175, del 178 al 197, 199, 201, 203 a 219, 223 a 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 235 a 237, 239, 242, 243, 247, 250, 252, 253, 257 a 279, 282, y 286 a 288. Acaso las hojas con cruz sean las pertenecientes a uno de los dos ejemplares, que, según Mr. Kerney, se utilizaron para formar el presente, y las que carecen de ella, al otro.

Al margen del f. 77v. hay escrito en tinta que se ha lavado después, el nombre del *Dr. Martín López Rebega* (?). Al margen del 186v. se lee "este libro es de Francisco Gil quien se lo alle que se lo vuelva." Y algo se escribió al margen del f. 230, que se borró.

Por último, el asendereado f. 161 parece que tenía un agujero hacia el centro y se remendó hábilmente con un pedacito de papel en el que se suplieron las letras que faltaban por ambos lados, pero no en facsímile, como se manifiesta, sino, a mi entender, a mano, hechas con pluma. Y la persona que las hizo, o copió mal o copió de un ejemplar que presentaba discrepancias en el texto, pues encuentro tres variantes en las palabras constituidas por esas trece letras; en el anverso: *amio* por *amo*, y una coma después de *desse* de la que carece la edición príncipe, y a la vuelta: *venira* y coma en vez de *venir* a sin coma.

Hé aquí ahora las 143 variantes que he hallado. He comparado el texto de la nueva variedad en que me ocupo con el del ejemplar de la edición príncipe que posee la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society* procedente de la del marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros. Ha de tenerse en cuenta que ambos textos coinciden en plana y renglón en todas las páginas del libro:

FOLIO	LÍNEA	NUEVA VARIEDAD	EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE
I	penúlt.	concluían	concluian
IV.	I	con	cõ
"	12	Quixana	Quexana
"	17	oluidò	oluidó
"	19	hazienda	haciēda
"	"	llegò	llegô
"	23	compu fo	cõpu- fo
"	25	parecian	pareciã
"	29	con razon	cõ razõ
"	30	tambien	tābien
"	32	merecimiento,	merecimiento [sin coma]
2	12	aun	aũ
"	16	cauallero	cauallero
"	23	<i>Falta todo este renglón en la nueva variedad.</i>	
"	24	enfracò	enfracò
"	"	paffauan	paffauã
"	32	imaginacion	imaginaciõ
2v.	5	gigantes	gigãtes
"	8	ahogò	ahogô
"	9	Morgante	Morgãte
"	13	veia	veia
"	28	cobraffe	cobrafe
3	I	auian	auian
"	8	hazia	haziã
"	21	Gonelo	Gonela
"	últ.	exercicio	exexcicio
"	"	aís	aísi-
4	I	rendido	rēdido
"	4	Mancha	Mãcha
"	17	Dulzinea	Dulcinea
4v.	3	Rozi- nante	Roci- nante
"	23	armiño	armino
"	24	que	q̃
5	6	valcones	balcones
"	14	bronze	bronzes
"	19	diziẽ- do	dizie do
"	21	Dulzinea	Dulcinea
"	23	rigurofo	fugurofo
"	30	aprieffa	aprieffa

5v.	2	que	q̃
"	29-30	alme- nos	alme- nas
6	1	parecieron	parecierō
"	17	alguna	alguno
"	18	quanto	quãto
"	27	que	q̃
6v.	1	barbada	brida
"	9	Quixote	Quixoto
"	19	fiēdo	fiendo
"	21	dno ormir	no dormir
"	23	don	dō
7	4	consentir	cōsentir
"	24	pregūtarō	preguntarō
"	últ.	truchelas	truchuelas
7v.	2	que	q̃
"	4	que	q̃
"	18	pacien- cia	paciē cia
"	24	con fu mufica	con mufica
8(7)	1	Cop. III.	Cap. III.
"	3	penfamiento	pēfamiento
"	9	don	dō
"	10	ventero	vētero
"	11	femejātes	femejates
"	12	mirandole	mirādole
"	13	que	q̃
"	"	leuantaffe	leuantafe
"	21	tanto	tãto
"	26	incilnado	inclinado
"	27	barruntos	barrũtos
"	29	que	q̃
8(7)v.	5	mũdo	mundo
9	20	que	q̃
"	31	tan	tã
10v.	23	confiſtia	cōfiſtia
11	4	con	cō
"	8	alçó	alço
"	11	que	q̃
"	16	espeda	espada
"	25	quie- ra	quic- ra
"	26	tendria	tēdria
11v.	3	aprieffa	apriſſa

11v.	7	agradecien- dole	agradeciẽ- dole
12	1	que	q̃
"	3	tan	tã
"	19	adelante	adelãte
12v.	9	quanto	quãto
13	10	co- migo	cõ- migo
"	30	dexo	dexó
13v.	21	hazia	hãzia
14	18	pela- ua	penfa- ua
"	20	apretó	apreto
14v.	12	orden	ordẽ
"	29-30	mer cer	mer ced
15	4	con- tra	cõ- tra
"	25	acudien- do	acudiẽ- do
16v.	9	aprouechan- do	aprouechã- do
"	14	arenga	arẽga
"	24	quien	quiẽ
81	29	eftraña	eftrana
88	28	tã	ta
115	9	recibi	recebi
"	21	tan	tã
"	23	barbero	cabrero
"	24	comiendo	comiẽdo
"	25	atontada	atõtada
"	26	de vn bocado a otro	de vn bocado al otro
"	27	que tragaua	q̃ tragaua
115v.	6-7	interrom- pereis	interrom- pereys
"	7	punto	pũto
"	8	contan- do	contã- do
"	15	cuento	cuẽto
"	17	mientras	miẽtras
116	5	intentos	intetos
"	6	quando	quado
"	9	con	cõ
"	25	trasladaua	trafladaua
"	últ.	pedirla	pedirfela
116v.	2	voluntad	volũtad
"	18	aueys	deueys
117	2	mifmo	meľmo
"	3	hizo	hize
118	1	dezia	dezir

118	3	que	q̄
"	8	fe le acaba	fe acaba
118v.	21	mismo	mesmo
"	26	Lucinda	Lucinda
161	9	amio	amo
"	11	desse,	desse
161v.	12	venira,	venir a
223	penúlt.	azal	azul
241v.	1	co	cō
252v.	1	arrastra- fe	arrastrar- fe
273	penúlt.	en l fuelo	en el fuelo
285(289)	últ.	dará	dara
286	3	todas	tedas
295v.	penúlt.	de	do
310v.(311)	10	menos	meros
"	penúlt.	catadura	ca adura
"	"	de	do
311	últ.	ricances	alcances
311v.	8	llegarō	llegaro
"	16	ace- metedores	aco metedores
"	penúlt.	honoros	honor, y
"	últ.	mundos	mundo,
" le falta el reclamo del pie de la página, que es el en la edición príncipe.			
Sign. *3	10	engaños	enganos

Como se podrá observar, algunas de las variantes que preceden son correcciones de erratas de la edición príncipe; pero en cambio otras constituyen nuevas erratas. Considero como erratas corregidas las de los folios y líneas siguientes: f. 3 l. 8 y últ., f. 5 l. 19 y 23, f. 6v. l. 9, f. 8(7) l. 11, f. 11 l. 25, f. 81 l. 29, f. 88 l. 28, f. 116 l. 5 y l. 6, f. 286 l. 3, f. 295v. l. penúlt., f. 310v. (311v.) l. 10 y dos en la penúlt., f. 311v. l. 8 y f. sign. *3 l. 10. En total: 18.

Por el contrario, tengo por erratas nuevas las variantes de la lista que sigue: f. 2 l. 16, f. 3 l. últ. (afs), f. 5 l. 14, f. 5v. ls. 29-30, f. 6 l. 17, f. 6v. l. 21, f. 8(7) l. 1 y l. 26, f. 11 l. 16, f. 13 l. 10, f. 14 l. 18, f. 14v. ls. 29-30, f. 115 l. 23, f. 117 l. 3, f. 118 l. 1, f. 223 l. penúlt., f. 241v. l. 1, f. 252v. l. 1, f. 273 l. penúlt., f. 311 l. últ. y f. 311v. l. 16, penúlt. y últ. Que suman: 23. Hay, pues, mayor

número de nuevas erratas que de corregidas. Además, falta todo un renglón, el 23 del folio 2.

Se notará asimismo el uso frecuente de la *n* o *m* después de vocal en vez de la tilde encima de aquélla, aunque se da el caso contrario, si bien muy rara vez. La sustitución de la *c* por la *s* en *Dulzinea*, *Rozinante*, *hazienda*. El cambio de los acentos: grave por agudo o circunflejo y viceversa; el abandono de la abreviatura *q̃*, imprimiéndose *que* con todas sus letras; el empleo de dos *ff* en lugar de una, y de la *s* corta por la larga, aunque esto último una sola vez.

Finalmente, *mifmo* por *mesmo* (f. 117 l. 2 y f. 118v. l. 21), *aprieffa* por *apriffa* (f. 11v. l. 3), *recibi* por *recebi* (f. 115 l. 9), *barbada* por *brida* (f. 6v. l. 1), *con fu mufica* por *con mufica* (f. 7v. l. 24), *de vn bocado a otro* por *de vn bocado al otro* (f. 115 l. 26), *pedirla* por *pedirfela* (f. 116 l. últ), *auneys* por *deueys* (f. 116v. l. 18) y *fe le acaba* por *se acaba* (f. 118 l. 8).

Existen, pues, variantes de cuatro clases: correcciones de erratas, nuevas erratas, diferencias ortográficas y, por último, y esto es lo más importante, lecciones distintas.

Todo ello nos induce a creer que no se trata simplemente de cambios realizados durante la tirada de la edición príncipe, con el objeto de corregir las erratas a medida que se iban notando; sino de una nueva impresión, de una nueva variedad de la primera edición de Cuesta, o acaso de una nueva edición del mismo impresor. A Cortejón le bastó descubrir menor número de variantes (135)⁹ en la edición de Valencia de Mey de 1605 conocida por *AL*, para tenerla por una edición distinta y no por una variedad de la del mismo impresor, lugar y fecha, conocida por *LA*, impresas ambas a plana y renglón igualmente. De ese mismo parecer fué el Sr. Givanel¹⁰ y la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid,¹¹ a cuyo frente se hallaba entonces el insigne Menéndez y Pelayo.

Y no se crea que, porque algunas de las variantes (35) de esta nueva impresión se hallan también en la segunda edición de Cuesta, se trata de hojas procedentes de un ejemplar de esta última que se

⁹ Primera edición crítica del *Quijote*. Madrid, 1905, t. I, ps. LXXII-LXXXII.

¹⁰ Prólogo a la *Iconografía de las ediciones del Quijote* de M. Henrich. Barcelona, 1905, p. XII.

¹¹ *Catálogo de la Exposición*. . . . Madrid, 1905.

han intercalado en el antiguo de Salvá, pues las hojas de aquella en que se encuentran esas pocas variantes no coinciden en plana y renglón con las de la príncipe, aunque en tres de ellas coincide una de sus páginas, pero no ambas, que son lo que constituye la hoja, y la única que coincide en ambas es la ocho, foliada 7, por error, en la príncipe y 8 en la segunda, lo cual impide que se confundan. En la nueva variedad lleva el número 7. Esto es concluyente. Además, hay otras muchas variantes (108) que no figuran en la segunda edición.

Ahora bien, ¿fué el ejemplar de Salvá el que presentaba esas 143 variantes o el otro de que se echó mano para reemplazar las hojas manchadas o estropeadas? Si fué el segundo, es más que probable que las restantes hojas que no se utilizaron, contendrían asimismo más variantes. ¿A dónde habrán ido a parar esas hojas?

La presente variedad de la edición príncipe de la primera parte de *Don Quijote* (ejemplar de Salvá modificado) se halla actualmente en la *Hispanic Society* de Nueva York, donde ha ido a enriquecer la valiosísima colección cervántica que posee, y en la cual he tenido la fortuna de realizar varios descubrimientos bibliográficos de que daré cuenta en un catálogo crítico-razonado que verá la luz en breve y que será el primero que se publique acerca de las ediciones de las obras de Cervantes de la biblioteca de la referida sociedad.

HOMERO SERÍS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

LA MERICA SANEMAGOGNA

I—THE *Italy* OF GIOVANNI PASCOLI

A Caprona una sera di febbraio
gente veniva, ed era già per l'erta—
veniva su da Cincinnati, Ohio. . . .

WE need quote no farther. American friends of Pascoli will recall this poem, inspired, it will be remembered, by his contact with Italian emigrants returning to the Tuscan hills, and dedicated by the poet, amongst the pages of the *Primi poemetti*,¹ to "wandering Italy." Our comments on these verses are bound by the character of our investigation to be a bit pedantic. It is only fair therefore to pay homage to the ravishing sweetness of this vision of "Molly," the tiny emigrant child, "no heavier than an acorn," who returns from 'Merica with many an American prejudice, with only a half suspicious confidence in the land of her grandparents, and on her lips a gentle dialect that fell upon the poet's ears like the twittering of birds at sunrise:

palpiti a volo limpidi e sonori,
gorgheggi a fermo teneri e soavi,
battere d'ali e battere di cuori.

It is an homage not altogether disinterested, moreover; inasmuch as we may need to invoke something of the girlish charm of "Molly," as well as something of her singer's literary authority, in order to win audience for this Italo-American speech, which American philologists have curiously disdained,² and which our compatriots of Italian origin are prone unjustly to regard as an illiterate perversion of their national linguistic tradition.

¹ Vol. II of the *Poesie*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1904, pp. 195-219.

² Though not the French: Rémy de Gourmont has some very just remarks on the English element in American Italian in his *Esthétique de la langue française*, of which my colleague, Irving Brown, of Culver Academy, has given me an abstract. It is to be hoped that Brown will some day soon write down what he knows of American immigrant life, especially as led by the Gypsies.

From such preconceptions Pascoli may not have been wholly free himself. He has left a note on *Italy* hardly less interesting for our purposes than the poem. He too considered Molly's dialect, perhaps, as a kind of "poor English," which, as we shall see, he felt at liberty to restore to dictionary forms, and which he understood at times in a manner far too "correct." Besides, in *Italy*, there are two distinct motives, epic by nature both: there is the epic of human sorrow, the source of sincere poetry; and there is the epic of Italian nationalism, the source of some rhetoric.³ In the logical outline of the poem the latter motive is predominant. In deference to it, Molly, who speaks "la lingua di *oh yes*," is made finally to depart with her palinodic *sl*. Pascoli, therefore, may have been intellectually in the position of the nationalists toward the language, of which, emotionally and as a poet, he was so quick to feel the artistic potentialities.

In any event, strophes v, XIII, and xx of Pascoli's *Italy*, not to mention those other passages where we have English words intentionally left undisguised, remain if not the first then among the first (and by all means the first important) literary documents of the Italo-American dialect. Ghita and Beppe di Taddeo have finished their muddy ascent to the cottage of Molly's grandparents; and—

Venne, sapendo della lor venuta
gente, e qualcosa rispondeva a tutti
Joe, grave: "*Oh, yes*, è fiero, vi saluta. . . .
Molti bisini *oh yes*. . . . No, tiene un frutti—
stendo. . . . *Oh yes*, vende checche, candi, scrima. . . .
Conta moneta! può campar coi frutti. . . .
Il baschetto non rende come prima. . . .
Yes, un salone, che ci ha tanti bordi. . . .
Yes, l'ho rivisto nel pigliar la stima. . . ."

Or return to the sentimental observation of Beppe:

"*Poor Molly*, qui non trovi il pai con fleva";

³ If this assertion should happen to shock some idolator of Pascoli or some Italian "propagandist," I suggest a consideration of strophes xvii and xviii, which I hope no one will be depraved enough to regard as more than rhetoric of a very platitudinous sort. While the figure of Molly remains integral in its touching pathos, the patriotic allegory is an artificial and irrelevant appendage to the emotions that make the poem "go".

or to the vigorous review of the emigrant's life in America:

"O va per via, battuto dalla pioggia—
Trova un *farm*: *You want buy?* Mostra il baschetto.
Un uomo compra tutto. Anche l'alloggia";

or to the departure once more for beyond the seas:

"*Joe*, bona cianza!" "*Ghita*, state bene!"
"*Good-bye!*" "*L'avete presa la ticchetta?*"
"*Oh yes!*" "*Che barco?*" "*Il prinsessin Irene.*"

In utilizing these memories of his Tuscan emigrants and possibly long after meeting them, Pascoli had to rely to some extent on his own knowledge of English. Take, for instance, the title of the poem. We are reminded in an explanatory note: "To justify my rhymes with *Italy* (*i. e., Itali*), I appeal if necessary to the authority of Shelley, who puts *she* in rhyme with *poesy* and *die* with *purity*." The defence, in truth, is not required. Pascoli had forgotten, if indeed he had ever observed, that *Itali* is the regular Italo-American form. Here is a quatrain from an Italo-American song:

Per me io dico che il taliano
Che nasce in questa terra avesse a di
Quanno se trova con il mericano
Che la più bella terra è ll'Italy.⁴

Rather, indeed, an excuse was due for rhyming *Molly* with *colli* and *fellow* with *gelo*, for which he certainly heard *Molli* and *faldò*, his completely anglicized *poor fellow* replacing a legitimate locution *pufaldò*. Unadulterated English borrowings are thus regularly treated by our immigrants: *ghini*, *moni*, *digò*, *contrì*. This latter word is also unfortunately restored as *country*, along with *good-bye* for *gubaie*, the latter all the more above reproach since it is about what Americans say themselves. The bad effect, even from an æsthetic point of view, of Pascoli's English dictionary appears most strikingly in "*un farm*"; whereas *una farma* can be found in almost any advertisement of the Italo-American newspapers.

⁴ From *Orré for Italy*, for which see below. The rhymes for which Pascoli apologizes are *lui*: *Italy*; and *tossi*: *Italy*.

Of the forms regarded by Pascoli as authentic dialect, one or two seem to be open to suspicion. *Pai con fleva* is entirely unknown to me, though in New York many kinds of pie (*paie*) are dialectically consumed. I cannot, in addition, think of an English locution to form a base for *pai con fleva*. *Candi* is more regularly *chendi* (open *e*) with an analogical singular *chendo* (piece of candy). The (prevalent) flat *a* is thus regularly adapted: "can't" = *chent*. *Candi* was taken in an English rather than American sense by Pascoli: "canditi" for a better "dolci." A *salone* with *tanti bordi* is, I suppose, defensible as a special case; though the word itself stands actually for the American *saloon* and not the Italian *trattoria*. *Dago* is derived by Pascoli from *dagger*, following the belief of most Italo-Americans; whereas the orthodox tradition recognizes a Portuguese etymon *Diego*. The exact proof of this latter etymology I have never seen. The scorn accorded my derivation of *greaser* from *gracias* has cooled my interest in such questions. Especially curious is Pascoli's note referring, I believe, to strophe VII. Part of this strophe reads as follows:

Sweet . . . sweet. . . . Ho inteso quel lor dolce grido
dalle tue labbra. . . . *Sweet*, uscendo fuori,
e sweet, sweet, sweet, nel ritornare al nido. . . .

The note reads: "*Sweet* vale dolce, ed è, per dir così, consacrato a *home*. *Casa mia! casa mia!*" To the mountains of Tuscany the emigrants had brought back the expression "home, sweet home," though Pascoli evidently never caught the reference to our old American song!

II—THE ITALO-AMERICAN DIALECT OF NEW YORK

We must not, however, let Pascoli's sentimentality set the keynote of our study. If we are to invoke a muse harmonious with the characteristic spirit of Italo-American "literature," it will be not the tearful lady who sniffles perpetually at Pascoli's elbow, but the joyous companion of Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli, who yields to Tuscany the palm of Italo-American poetry, only to claim for Rome priority in the field of Anglo-Italian etymology, cultivated by him, as is his wont, with more respect for vivacity than for science:

L'AGGRATIS E ER PICCHINICCHE

Nepà, mmunzù: la vera nun è cquesta—
 Ve lo diremo noi come se spiega:
 Sto *picchinicche* è una parola grega,
 Che vvò ddi *ppagà ir pranzo a un tant' a ttesta*.
 Io voi nun me guardate cqui a bbottega
 Si sto ssempre a ssegà, mmemo la festa;
 Pe' via ch'io tratto tutta ggente onesta,
 Che ss'intenne de tutto e sse ne frega.
 Pò ssapello ch'edè sto *picchinicche*
 Un coco amico mio, che ssempr' è stato
 A intrujjà ccazzarole in case ricche?
 Bbe' . . . ddunque . . . *aggratis* significa a *uffaggna*,
 E *picchinicche* ve l'hò ggìà spiegato:
Picchinicche vò ddi: *ppaga chi mmaggna*.⁵

More than one sonnet of Belli's, however, would be necessary to enlighten his countrymen as to the peculiarities in the speech of their American brothers. Some of their commoner borrowings from English are known to almost everyone: *bosso*, "boss"; *picco*, "pick"; *sciabola*, "shovel"; *giobba*, "job"; *tracca*, "track (*binari*)"; *grùssaria*, *grosseria*, "grocery"; *marchetto*, "market"; *costume*, "customer"; *bòcchese*, "box" (at theater); *bordo*, "boarder"; *gliarda*, "yard." What status are we to accord this dialect?

Perhaps I may venture to hope that after my citation from Pascoli no captious critic will dare call in question the artistic interest of Italo-American forms, nor fail to see their suggestiveness in a number of sociological and philological connections. Should the inclination to do so still linger in anyone, we must further observe, with Rémy de Gourmont, that this language, far from being a "deturpation" either of English or Italian, is an æsthetic as well as a practical necessity, following the laws of word-borrowing and adaptation that we note in the history of all the major literary languages; save that here these laws are in the active state, revealing impulses in numberless directions, only a few of which will have permanent reactions on the Italian language itself, with a few more,

⁵ *I sonetti romaneschi*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1906, vol. V, p. 332. Belli regards *picnic*, perhaps rightly, as of French origin.

perhaps, surviving in America as long as social conditions permit the existence of a distinctly foreign Italian element in the famous American "melting-pot." We here catch the linguistic forces in a state of ebullition, before quiescence and crystallization have overtaken them. Nor are they the forces of ignorance, linguistic laziness or caprice, but of the creative imagination dealing creatively with acute situations arising in practical life.

Italian, to be sure, furnishes the immigrant with more or less approximately equivalent words with which to describe the manifold aspects of characteristically American life. Listening to the intellectuals of the New York Italian colony, one has the choice of numerous maladroit attempts to deal orally with "The Third Avenue L," the "Subway," the "Fort George Ferry," "147th Street." Let the most accomplished Cruscan try his hand at any one of these: his achievement will be not only difficult but inexact. I agree with the Italian laborer that if the purist has to wait for the "sotterraneo" to take him "nella bassa città," he ought to be forced like Bunyan's pilgrim to walk with a copy of Rigutini-Fanfani fastened on his back; while the nationalistic propagandist of the *Carroccio* who says "il Subway" ought to have the tricolor torn from his buttonhole. The real Italian patriots in New York take the *tonno* ("tunnel," hence "tube") to *Gersemi* (Jersey City); and passing through *Obochino* (Hoboken), return by way of the *Ferri Fogiorte* to *Coppetane* (uptown), thence by the *Sobborè* or the *Sobbuele* to *Morbeda Stritto* (Mulberry Street) in the *Tantane* (down-town). The named streets of the down-town district regularly appear as *stritto* or *stritta*; while the numbered streets farther uptown take the legitimate though ungrammatical form, *e. g.*, of *Quarantadue Strade* (quarantaduesima strada un corno!), except perhaps 14th Street (*Strada Fotin*). Here the concepts and the facts are purely American; Italo-American, therefore, are the designations, and no "translation" can accurately replace them.

This state of affairs has long been practically recognized by the Italo-American press. On the advertising page of the *Bollettino della sera* (New York, February 7, 1917) the following *fortunate opportunità* (occasioni) and *posizioni stabili* (posti) are offered to the Italian immigrant: positions as *giobbista* (jobber), *pressatori* (pressers), workers on *cotti da uomo* (men's coats), *operatori*

(operators) of *macchine* (machines); tailors for *cotti da costume* (custom-coats); *scèperi* (shapers of garments); *carpentieri* (carpenters); *sottopressatori* (presser's helpers). Finally there is a request for a *mezzo-giovane macellaio*. New York knows also the *mezzo-barbiere*, the *mezzo-sciainatore*, the *mezzo-barrista*, and so on; *mezzo* being the term for the half-day man, usually for a Saturday afternoon or a holiday. Among the bargains appear several *farne*, one *con casa e barna* and only so many minutes from the *carro elettrico*. A *storo* is for sale with furnishings, including a *stufa con range* ("stove," but not the Italian *stufa*). A lady asks for *bordanti* (cf. *bordare*, *abbordare*, whence *bordo*, *abbordato*, board, boarders). The *buscellatore* and *buscellatrici* are tailor's "trimmers," a term, I have been told, of Yiddish origin. This collection is taken from two columns of a single issue of a typical Italo-American journal. Originally the policy of this paper was to "translate," in correct form, the Italian "copy." The practice had to be abandoned, because poorer results were obtained from advertisements restored to the literary tongue.

Thus we find gradually taking form a safe and certain method for distinguishing, in a confusion of floating, fluctuating phenomena, the authentic from the spurious elements in our dialect. There is no reason why an Italian should say *mi no spicco inglese*—a phrase indicative of a sleepy mind or a pathetic courtesy. But though a word like *ciappa*, "chop" (pl. *ciappe*), has a legitimate and exact Italian equivalent, *costoletta*, the utility of such a form as *ciappa* in a hybrid environment is obvious: it is authentic. The tests will be (1) frequency and extensiveness of use; (2) regularity of transformation in accordance with Italian phonetic laws; (3) æsthetic "reality" and necessity owing to the inexactness of possible translations, or to total lack of corresponding Italian words or expressions.

Take, e. g., *pondo*, "pound"; *penta*, "pint"; *quarto*, "quart." What better words could an immigrant with serious business in life and endowed with anything short of the agility of a counting-machine invent, in order to adapt himself to the unusual system of weights and measures he finds in vogue in this country? Whereas these words are accurate in meaning, Italian in form, useful in practice. The fruit vender learns after one brush with the *coppo*

("cop") in his neighborhood that a *licenza* is necessary for his *fruttistenne*, just as the *carta cittadina* is requisite for citizenship. *La livetta* ("elevated") is his delicious solution of the linguistic problem of locomotion on *Second' Avvenuta* or *Terz' Avvenuta*; and the word serves as well, along with other forms (*l'elevete*, *l'alveto*), for "elevator" (*ascensore*) in general. He rushes the *grollo* ("growler") or the *canno* ("can") to the nearby *salone* ("saloon"), so different from his Italian *trattoria* or *bettola*, since it has its *barra*, with its *barrista* or *barritenne*, and dispenses principally *visco* (whiskey). I possess a transcription of a delightfully spontaneous expression of Italo-American psychology in the extemporaneous octaves of a Sardinian laborer working on the "Valhalla Dam"—a long poem declaimed to Miss Ruth Underhill, of the Settlement, in repayment for a night's lodging. It is entitled: *Le mie notizie*. Its author is Primio Bulleri. It tells of unhappy American experiences—long beatings of the *relle* on the *tracca-ferrovia*, work on the *stim-sciabola* in a mud-filled *indiccio* (ditch), under an ugly *bosso*, who finally *lo mandò a godaella!* There is no parallel in the Italian social system to the American *riccemanne*, whom the peasant of the South longs to serve as resident gardener or completely to supplant as the wheel of fortune turns in this enchanted new world of wealth. Only imagine *toppo* ("top") occasionally replacing Italian *panna*, or the Italian Gallicism *crema*—a curious reflection of a city life nursed on bottled milk by Borden and the Sheffield Farms!

Athwart the dialect there thus arises to the mind's eye all the new social life and custom which the immigrant meets with in New York. There is the fresh arrival from Italy, the *grignollo* ("greenhorn"); there is the Americanized Italian, who has freed himself from the practices, the language, especially the patriarchal obligations of *lo cuntri* (the "old country")—the *sechenenze* (second-hand), *i. e.*, anybody (or indeed anything) cheap, worthless, good-for-nothing: *Che maniera sechenenze di trattar la gente!* Every boy has his *ghella* ("girl") and every girl her *fald*, in the freer comradeships between the sexes unknown to Italian manners; *amante* would never do. On arriving in New York the homeless immigrant seeks *bordo* with some *bossa* or *auschieppe* ("house-keeper") who keeps a boarding house. If he is unfortunate, he

is roped in by some *ghenga* ("gang") of *loffari* ("loafers"); or if progressive and respectable he has his political *globbo* ("club") of patriotic citizens. Our colleagues of the West and South have probably forgotten that beer can still be had in New York in glasses of two sizes: one small for five, one large for ten: this latter, on election nights, can sometimes be found for nothing. By the Italians in any event it is called a *temeniollo!* ("Tammany Hall"). An Italian cemetery of *Broccolino* is at Flatbush: *andare a flabussce* is the Italian *andare a patrasso*, "to die," with many derived senses, such as "to fail in business," "to be done for." *Flabussce!* "Good night!" "It's all over!" While Italians resent the epithets *dago* (*digò*) and *wop* (from *guapo*), they have become reconciled to *ghini* and have taken it over (*una ghinina fresca e purposa*), especially in good-humored abuse: *granissimo ghini* ("fool").

Neapolitan influence is strong, naturally, in the adaptations of the New York colony. *Coppetane* ('*ncuop* + *town*) has a curious parallel in *coppeteso* ('*ncuop* + *stairs*), "upstairs." The most disconcerting change in such Neapolitan forms is that from *d* and *t* into *r*. Here is a specimen from the carpenter trade: base-boards, the strip of wood between sheathing (or wall) and floor, are called by American carpenters in New York "bottomings"; Italian workmen treat the word thus: *barami* (showing regular treatment of English *t* and *o*), then *barmi*. *City* becomes *sirì* (cf. *Gerserì*), *surì* and *zurì*. *Siriollo* is "City-hall": *Iammoccene alla surì a 'nzurà*, "Let's go to the City-hall and get married,"⁶ A similar treatment of the dental *l* and *d* appears in the phrases *orraite* ("all right") and *aironò* ("I don't know"), used even by Italians who know no English. Neapolitan developments of *nd* into *nn* we have already seen: *fruttistenne*, *barritenne*, etc. *Bimbo*, "beam" (carpenter's trade), a word which I owe to the *Carroccio's* desire to suppress it, is a curious "forme à rebours," as Nyrop would say (*mb* > *m*, therefore erroneously *m* > *mb*).

In *opportunità* and *posizione* we have already noted instances of English thought-color. Others are *molti pipoli* for *molta gente*,

⁶ The "City-government," considered as an employer, is the *Corpulazion*: *lavorare per la corpulazion*.

frequent but illiterate; and *guardare*, "to appear," "to look": *Non guardate troppo bene oggi*, "You don't look very well to-day."

Interpretative combinations are evident in two cases that I know: *canabuldogga*, "bull-dog," and *pizza-paia*. I long supposed we were here dealing with "piece-of-pie" pure and simple, I believe it was Professor Ettari, of the City College of New York, who pointed out to me that *pizzapaia* is really *pizza* + *pie*. It is that infamous *tedescheria* called "cheese-cake," a degradation of the American custard-pie.

For Americanisms that have crossed to Italy I may cite *schidù* (*far schidù*), "skiddoo!" and *bomma* ("bum," "meretrice"), which have become Neapolitan ejaculations. *Briccoliere* ("brick-layer") circulates in Sicily. *Baccan* (cesso) has been heard in Tuscany.

Unexplained forms are *grasso*, "gas" (*pipe del grasso*), and *barranda*. This latter is the community amusement house, usually of uniform octagonal shape, of the Pennsylvania mining camps: *barra* + *anda* ("veranda?").

An English borrowing from the Italians is apparently *policy* in the *policy-game* or *lotto*: from Italian *pòlizza*, the ticket used in the speculation. The first example given by the Oxford dictionary dates from the 1890's.

III—THE *Macchietta Coloniale*: FERRAZZANO AND FARFARIELLO

We must now, with special insistence, invite the spirit of Belli to attend us as we descend into the hotter regions of the American "melting-pot," in order to traverse the battle-grounds of industrial democracy as they appeared four years ago in the Paterson strike. But we shall linger in those turmoils only long enough to recall that they produced in the Madison Square pageant of 1913 one of the most impressive spectacles of spontaneous popular art that America has witnessed; and above all that from them, as from Lawrence, came the constitution of one of the most promising of young American artistic personalities, revealed to us then in *Arrows in the Gale*, and now more recently in *War*.

It is not however of Arturo Giovanitti that we are here going to speak; but rather of one of his younger and less gifted comrades,

whose songs twenty thousand workers walked daily across the fields to sing at Haledon, under burning suns and drizzling rains, and in the face of danger and death. Unimportant things, to be sure, these Italian songs of Carlo Ferrazzano—aspirations to a freedom undefined, incitements to endurance, appeals for solidarity. Of them the best perhaps that can be said is that they excel anything up to that time produced by the American Association of Manufacturers. The Paterson strike failed, failed miserably and tragically; and by the irony of circumstance, precisely at the Madison Square pageant the first breaches in the solidarity of the workers occurred.

Two years later I found Ferrazzano at the Caffè Roma. He had entered on more peaceful paths of existence: lessons on the mandolin; more lessons in Italian; a *muffo-piccio* ("moving picture") in *Nevarke*, another in *Gerseri*; poems for Antonio Grauso at ten *pezze* the page—with an occasional practical joke on the good-natured "Mpà 'Ntuò" (compare Antonio); and finally he was writing *macchiette coloniali* for the 'Talia theatre.

The *macchietta coloniale* is not, however, the creation of Ferrazzano. It belongs rather to Edoardo Migliacci (Farfariello), who was originally one of the most gifted *macchiettisti* of Naples, and, emigrating to America, became unquestionably the most popular resident actor in contemporary Italo-American vaudeville. The *macchietta* is, we may say, if not exclusively at least characteristically, a Neapolitan type: Neapolitan in language, in allusion, in social background. It is a character-sketch—etymologically a character—"daub"—most often constructed on rigorous canons of "ingenuity": there must be a literal meaning, accompanied by a double sense, which, in the nature of the tradition, inclines to be pornographic. However, the audiences Farfariello was compelled to deal with in New York were not Neapolitan entirely. His allusions to Naples fell on deaf ears when addressed to Sicilians, Romans, Sardinians, North Italians, who all enter into the composition of the hybrid New York colony. The *macchietta coloniale* was the recognition of this cosmopolitan environment. Farfariello transformed his Neapolitan materials to reflect the emotions, the predicaments, the hopes and the characteristics of Italian colony

life in the United States. And he came to use as well the language of the Italo-American.

Farfariello is the author of some five hundred *macchiette coloniali*: he is compelled as a matter of business to produce at least one new one every week. Of these only a few—and largely because they were failures on the stage—have appeared on the “flying sheets” of Antonio Grauso. Ferrazzano has become the collaborator of Farfariello, and he is not so timid of publicity in the colony. I have found some fifty or sixty of his “things,” drawn from life, all of them, with an occasional flash of feeling, never, however, long sustained, as is natural with authors of Ferrazzano’s culture, and as befits the purposes for which his work is written. They are verses, primarily, of word-play, a defect inherent in the traditional concept of the *macchietta*; but with a jolly spirit of fun that comports with Ferrazzano’s whole view of life. As his career suggests, Ferrazzano, along with Grauso, would make an excellent subject for a *macchietta*.

The motives of these verses range between antipathy to the new conditions the immigrant meets in America and a sort of education of the Italian in adaptation to these new conditions. There is naturally more “punch” in the animosities than in the sympathies. We have taken the title of this article in fact from *Lu Cafone intelligente*:

Chi dice ca l’America è civile
nun tene lu cerviello sestimato:[†]
questa è la terra de lu tradimento;
questa è la terra de lu scustumato.

Addò vedite a li paise nuoste
ca na figliola quannu fa l’ammore
vene lu nnammurate a qualunque ore
s’a piglia e se la porta a divertì?

E quannu se retira
si parla sulamente
o pate o a mamma, siente:
No laiche? Mi go ve!

Chi nasce qua, nasce senza vergogna:
Questa è la terra cchiù sanemagogna![†]

[†] *sestimato*: “sistemato;” *sanemagogna*: son-of-a-gun.

And Ferrazzano goes on to blame the lawlessness of America, and the bad habits of the Italians of the second generation. In *La scienza americana*, he maintains that without Italian labor, American grandeur would be nothing:

Parlate cu sti ciucci americani
E po vedite come fanno 'e sbloff⁸!
Ve dicono ca nuie 'taliani
siamo animali e siamo molto roffi. . . .
Ma quale scienza teneno sti tali?
Ch'hanno scuperto, neh? ch'hanno inventato?

Lu cafone patriota deals with the *sechenenze*, the man who is ashamed of being an Italian and of talking Italian, and who habitually makes unfavorable comparisons of Italy with America. Through all this affirmation of Italianity there runs the epic of Columbus, of which the greatest expression has been in the work of Pascarella. A rival of Ferrazzano, Vincenzo de Falco, observes in his *Lu cafone cittadino americano*:

Ma si aspettava c'a scupreva n'ato,
Mo stessero li puorce mmiezo qua!

And Ferrazzano in '*O cafone che rragiona*:

Quante vote a Culumbo jastemmammo
che scoperchiò sta terra 'e libertà!
La libertà, se ntenne,
ca i' no vengo li frutte!
vene lu pulizzimmo⁹
e se li piglia tutte!
Si parle si' arrestato,
po vaie nnanz'a la leggìa
e . . . zitto. . . . Ca pe niente
ti mannano a la seggia!

The jolliest compendium of all these motives is to be found in Ferrazzano's *Orré for Italy: scuperchiatevi li cape!*, of which we must quote the prose narrative of a patriotic night:

⁸ sbloff, 'bluffs'; roffi: 'roughs' = 'toughs.'

⁹ vengo: vedo; pulizzimmo: policeman; seggia: electric-chair.

Na sera dentro na barra¹⁰ americana, dove il patrone era americano, lo visco era americano, la birra era americana, ce steva na ghenga de loffari tutti americani: solo io non ero americano; quanno a tutto nu mumento me mettono mmezzo e me dicettono: *Aldò spaghetti! iu mericano men?* No! no! *mi Italy men! Iu blacco enze?* No, no! *Iu laico chistu contri?* No, no! *Mi laico mio contry! Mi laico Italy!* A questo punto me chiavaieno lo primo fait! "Dice: *Orré for America!*" Io tuosto: *Orré for Italy!* Un ato fait. "Dice: *Orré for America!*"—*Orré for Italy.* N'ato fait e n'ato fait, fino a che me facetteno addurmentare; ma però, *orré for America* nun o dicette!

Quanno me scietae, me trovaie ncoppa lu marciapiedi cu nu pulizio vicino che diceva: *Ghiroppe bomma!* Io ancora stunato alluccaie: *America nun gudde! orré for Italy!* Sapete il pulizio che facette? Mi arrestò!

Quanno fu la mattina, lu giorge mi dicette: *Wazzo maro laste naite?* Io risponette: *No tocche nglese!* "No? *Tenne dollari!*" E quello porco dello giorge nun scherzava, perchè le diece pezze se le pigliaie! . . .

The difficulties of the Italian in his new environment form a frequent and characteristic theme. In *Pascale se ne va*:

Io so passato qua nu sacco 'e trobale
e m'arrtruovo sulo e disperato;
tutte le sorde che m'haio purtato
l'haio fernute, e nun tengo cchiù!
So faticato pure cu la sciabola
Sotto nu bosso il più ssanemagogna
C'a dirla a buie è una gran vergogna
quel porco che buleva far cu me!

Nicola in 'E *guaie* 'e Nicola 'America painfully learned to give his seat to the ladies in the street cars:

Stevo int'o carro elettrico
leggenno lu giornale,
nu pièzzo d'animale
vene vicino a me:

¹⁰ barra, 'bar'; visco, 'whiskey'; blacco enze, 'black-hand'; fait, 'fight'; 'punch'; chiavar nu fait, 'give a punch'; nato fait, 'another punch'; scietae, 'woke up'; ghiroppe bomma, 'Get up, you bum!'; alluccaie, 'shouted'; giorge, 'judge'; wazzo maro, 'what's the matter.' Pezze: Neapolitan for "dollars." Purely English phrases are in italics.

"Ghioppa, mecche uomene
sedan, in bigghe wappe! . . ."

In another we find a complaint about the diversity of our local governments: the immigrant in changing towns has to learn everything over again—Sunday laws, liquor laws, license laws, and so on.

The *galant* motives of vaudeville are, of course, a commonplace—praises generally of the *ghelle taliane* as superior to those of all other nationalities. An exception or two, however, may be found. From 'E *femmene sceni*:

I' aggiu girata 'America—
ve pozzo garenti
che non truvate femmene
cchiù bbone d'e sceni. . . .

The "mericana è splendita," the "taliana è orraite," the "germanese è nzipita"; the "franceselle te fanno 'e pezze spennere," etc., etc. In a satire on the dandy (*Io songo lu cchiù bello*) a squabble is described between "na Ndoccia (German, 'Dutch'), na Pulacca e na Sceni." Another criticizing American husbands also discourages American wives:

P'a ghella americana è differente,
pecchè 'ne cagna uno ogne mumente;
se sa, p'a faccia loro, o tradimente
nun è nu scuorno, è nu divertimento.

A subject of unfailing interest, it would seem, to the "colonists," is that of citizenship, with the advantages and disadvantages of joining the political clubs. It is curious that socialism is usually of the color of *lo cuntri*—anti-clerical and republican.

So' socialista, nun so' cchiù cafone:
il prevate nun fa cchiù scemo a me.
Voglio cercà la giobba a lu patrone
cu la cravatta rossa e stu gilè. . . .
'I mo nun saccio leggere e so buono
cuntarve tutta 'a vita 'e quello lì—
comme se chiamma—già—Cirdano Bruno
dal giorno che nasci fin che mori.

Lu cafone sucialista.

The purposes of a *globbo* are thus described:

Non è come li clobe americane
che sono fatte pe divertimento:
il nostro è pe mparà li paesane
di farli abituare in suggettà.
Qualunque membro della nostra ghenga
si debbe fare un uomo onorato;
e v'assicuro che da oggi in poi
nisciuno cchiù addà essere arrubato!
Quest'è la prima cosa
che io te lo dico a tutte:
Fratelle n'arrobate;
Li carcere so brutte!
A Singhe-singhe bello dello zio
lo trobolo che se passa lo sacc'io.

Lu presidente dello globbo.

La cittadinanza, offering aid to the *suffragette* in a variety of ways,
thus outlines the advantages of citizenship:

La carta serve a tante e tante cose:
Puo' ave' na giobba in corte, o fa' o polisse;
E poi ci sono specie 'e besinisse
ca senza 'a carta non se ponno fa'. . . .
La barra è quell'affare
che frutta assaie denaro;
e vuie c'a carta mmano
facite chillo affaro.

And in *A carta cittadina*:

Tengo a dumanda pe' fa' l'ispettore
O de le gliarde¹¹ e de li scupature,
o pure pe' scupri' li condutture
ca ncopp'e tramme arrobbano moni.
Tengo nu forte pullo,
na specie e Roselvetto:
fra poco pur a sinnaco

¹¹ gliarde, 'yards;' scupature, 'sweepers;' pullo, 'pull;' frescia, 'fresh;' luvà, 'take.' It is understood that in all these citations I pay no attention to double senses.

m'hann'a sagli' p'etto.
 Però mia moglie è fresca:
 M'hadda fa' scumpari,
 Ca se presenta sempe
 Appriesso addo' vac' i'.

Later on:

Però mia moglie a ditto:
 Nun ghi a sta parata:
 iette lu sango a vennere,
 li chende e a limmunata.
 Se tu non saie leggere,
 grannissimo ghini,
 dimme nu poco, spiegame:
 Tu addo' vuo' sagli' ?
 La mia signora tiene il fruttistendo
 e venne chendi frutte e limmunata,
 e si a dumanda mia viene accettata
 da miez' o stritto la voglio luvà. . . .

These ideas are expressed of course through some character of colony life: there are *O guardapurtone a New York* and *Lu bosso de lo muffo-piccio* among professional types, for instance; *Lu cafone nervoso*, *Lu cafone ngannato*; *Lu cafone sciampagnone*; *Crési ghella*, etc., among social types. *O conduttore'e l'elevete* begins as follows:

Nel treno che si allonga sulla traccia¹²
 di coppesteso faccio il conduttore;
 il mio cognato Gecco, il faietatore,
 mi fece prender questa giobba qua.¹³

The classic success of the *macchietta coloniale* is doubtless *A lingua 'ngrese* of Farfariello, a surprisingly ingenious compilation of all the strange words and meanings the Italian hears in the English language: this poem is unpublished. I can cite only a few combinations from memory: *donne* are in English *uomene*; *ragazzo* is *boia* ("boy-executioner"); *chiesa* is *ciuccio* ("church," "donkey"); the *strada larga* is *stritta* ("narrow"); *O viso o chiamano fessa*; *o carbone o chiamamo culo*, etc., etc. Of all the poems of Fer-

¹² traccia, 'track'; 'coppesteso, 'upstairs'; Gecco, 'Jack'; faietatore, 'prize-fighter.'

razzano, I prefer *O cafone ricco* which must be a fairly complete expression of the Italian laborer's American ideals: he starts in the ditches, and becomes a *foremme* ("foreman"); he saves his money and becomes a property holder; he rears a large family and educates the children; he goes back to Italy and becomes mayor of the commune he left so long before. We wish such good fortune to as many as possible of all the thousands of Italian immigrants that have laughed at the *macchiette coloniali* of Farfariello and Ferrazzano, who have given the first extensive artistic expression to the Italo-American's speech.¹³

IV—THE *Carmina* AND *Canzoni* OF MR. DALY

Only one word, in conclusion, apropos of the Italian dialect poems of Mr. T. A. Daly;¹⁴ or, rather, two words, one of admiration (in which thousands of American readers would be eager to join), and one of caution against some erroneous impressions commonly derived from these same poems.

Giuseppe, da barber, he gotta da cash,
 He gotta da clo'es an' da bigga moustache,
 He gotta da seelly young girls for da mash,
 But notta—
 You bat my life, notta
 Carlotta.
 I gotta.

Everyone surely has read *Mia Carlotta* of the *Carmina*, even if not

¹³ Here is a list of my collection of *macchiette coloniali* that contain Italo-American elements. They are published by Antonio Grauso, 192 Grand Street, New York: (1) Guerra Internazionale: Pascale vo' Sparà; (2) Lu Bosso de lo Muffo Piccio; (3) Lu cafone nervoso; (4) Lu cafone sciampagnone; (5) La cittadinanza; (6) Maritem 'è nglese; (7) Lu cafone che ragiona; (8) 'O conduttore 'e ll'elevete; (9) 'O guarda purtone a New York; (10) Lu cafone cantante; (11) 'E fmemene sceni; (12) Orrè for Italy; (13) Lu figlio de lu cafone che ragiona; (14) Lu cafone ngannato; (15) 'O dentista a Nuova Iorca; (16) Lu cafone cittadino americano; (17) A carta cittadina; (18) Lu presidente dello clobo F. F.; (19) Gli stornelli del soldato; (20) Lu cafone sicialista; (21) Lu cafone patriota; (22) Geni!; (23) In Cicaco i' e in Cicaco tu!; (24) 'E ccafuncelle 'America; (25) Stornelli toscani; (26) 'E guaie 'e Nicola 'America; (27) Pascale se ne va; (28) 'O cafone che rragiona; (29) La scienza americana; (30) Lu cafone intelligente; (31) Io songo lu cchiù bello; (32) 'O surdato vuluntario.

¹⁴ *Carmina*, New York, Lane, 1914.

everyone has experienced the delight of hearing Mr. Daly's own readings of his work. Such poems as *The Lonely Honeymoon*, *The Busy Wife*, *All's Well that Ends Well* rank among the masterpieces of American cleverness in verse;—wit tempered with a touch of tenderness and pathos, and objectifying if not a real emigrant personality at least an interestingly American concept of the immigrant personality. Indeed, this is just the point to be borne in mind if we are to concede any value to Mr. Daly's work as a reflection of immigrant character. Some traits of Italian psychology, to be sure, have penetrated the *Carmina* and *Canzoni*, but not so many as some social workers think. I consider the psychology of *Two Mericana Men*, or *Da Sweeta Soil*, for instance, as an American idealization of the immigrant—charming, in truth, and good as melting-pot propaganda—but not as a "reflection of life." To begin with, the Italian does not consider himself a "Dago-man," and he is not imbued with those pious aspirations to middle-class respectability which inform many of Mr. Daly's poems. Such a pose is doubtless to be met with in Italian colonies; but it is always a pose, covering a deal of self-respect and a national pride not at all to be confused with middle-class nationalistic theories. For middle-class patriotism the majority of Italian laborers have scant regard. In Italians of the second generation all these American traits are prominent enough.

And the language, again, is not Italian at all, one may say; it is rather a genial and clever "baby-talk" which Mr. Daly has invented for the purposes of an original and clean-cut artistic visualization wholly personal in character. The protagonist of the *Carmina* is, it will be remembered, a Neapolitan. Our preceding discussion will furnish sufficient data to establish this criticism without detailed exposition here of Mr. Daly's "phonology and morphology"; just as the excerpts from the *macchiette coloniali* will furnish a basis for estimating dominant immigrant ideals. But here, again, as in the case of Pascoli, we are afraid of intruding on a sacred field. Mr. Daly is an artist. And as all philologists will admit, art has nothing to do with scientific technicalities.¹⁵

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¹⁵ For interesting word lists see *Carroccio* (New York), 1917, pp. 178 and 454; and for comment *Corriere Italo-Americano* (New York), Aug., 1917.

IV—WORD LIST

Abbordare, to board
abbordato, boarder
airesce, Irish (contemptuous)
aironò, I don't know
alveto, Elevated railroad
auschieppe, housekeeper
avvenuta, avenue

Baccau, backhouse
barmi, bottomings
barna, barn
barra, bar
barratenne, bar-tender
barranda, amusement-house
barrista, bar-tender
baschetto, basket
becca, bitch (complimentary)
besenisso, business
bigù, be good, good-bye
bimbo, beam
bisini, business
bisinissi, business
bistecca, beef-steak (Ital.)
blaccoënze, Blackhand
blocco, block
bloffo, bluff
bòcchese, box
bomma, prostitute
bommo, bum
boncio, bunch of bananas
bordare, etc., board
bossa, housekeeper, boss
bosso, boss
briccoliere, brick-layer
Broccolino, Brooklyn
bucca-laimo, time-book
buscellatore, trimmer, ?

Canno, can
carpentieri, carpenter
carro, car
carta cittadina, naturalization papers
cianza, chance, luck, job
cheche, cakes
chendo, candy
ciappa, chop
cocco, cook

conduttore, conductor
contri, country
coppetane, Uptown
coppeseso, upstairs
coppo, cop
corpulazion, city-government
costume, customer
cottatori, cutters
cotto, coat
Cunailande, Coney Island

Digò, dago
dezzò, that's all (basta)

Faietatore, prize-fighter
faite, punch (pugno)
 (*chiavar nu faite*, give a punch)
falò, fellow
forma, farm
fattoria, factory
ferri, ferry
Flabussce, Flatbush; *andar a f.*: die
flabussce; (exclamation)
Fogiorge, Fort George
foremme, foreman
frencofuite, frankfurter
frescio, fresh (contempt)
fruttistenne, fruitstand

Garitta, garret
Gecco, Jack
Gerseri, Jersey City
ghella, girl
ghemma, game

ghenga, gang
ghini, guinea
ghinino, guinea
giobba, job
giobbista, jobber
giuro, Jew
gliarda, yard
globbo, club
godaella, *mandare a*, discharge
grasso, gas
grignollo, green-horn
grollo, growler

grussaria, etc., grocery
guardare, to look (appearance)

Indicchio, ditch
ingaggiare, engage
indocchia, German ('Dutch')

Limone, lemon (slang)
livetta, elevated, elevator
lo contri, the old country
loffaro, loafer
loffarone, loafer
lotto, building-lot
luppettellù, loop-the-loop

Marchetta (—o), market
macina, machine
Massasciutto, Massachusetts
mezzo-, half-day laborer
moni, money
Morbeda, Mulberry
muffo-piccio, moving-pictures

Naffia, knife
Nordobecce, North Beach

Obochino, Hoboken
olla, hall
operatore, operator
orraite, all right!
opportunità, opportunity

Parata, parade (Ital.)
penni, penny
penta, pint
picco, pick
picconico, picnic
pipoli, people, gente
pizza-paia, cheese-cake
polasciare, polish
pondo, pound
posizione, position (*giobba*)
pressatore, presser
pulizio, police (polisse)
puliziamme, policeman
pullo, pull (political)

Quarto, quart

Rella, rail
riccemanne, richman
rivolvaro, revolver
roffo, rough

Salone, saloon
sanemagogna, son-of-a-gun (adj.)
Saudobecce, Southbeach
sbloffo, bluff
sceni, sheeny
scèperi, shaper
scheppese, scab (Ital. *crumiro*)
schidù, skidoo
sciabola, shovel
sciacchenze, good-bye (shake-hands)
sciaiatore, shiner (boot-black)
sciamma, shame (peccato)
sciappa, shop
sciò, show
scrima, ice-cream
sechenenze, second-hand
seggialettra, electric-chair
siri, city
siriollo, city-hall
smatto, smart
Sobborè, Subway
Sobbuele, Subway
stambotto, steamboat (Ital.)
steggio, stage
stima, steamer
stinge, stingy
stocco, stock (goods)
storo, store
stufa, stove (range)
strappare, to strop a razor
stritto, street
suri, city

Tantane, Downtown
temeniollo, large glass of beer (Tam-many/Hall)
ticchetta, ticket
tonno, tunnel
toppo, cream (top)
tracca, track
tracca-ferrovia, railroad track
trobolo, trouble

Visco, whiskey

HISPANIC NOTES

AMIADÔ

IN the *Revue de dialectologie romane*, IV, 99, Jenoees *amiadô* iz menciond in coneccion with *amiâ*, but the sound *d* iz not explaind. Spanish *mirador* iz the sorse ov *amiadô*, hwich means 'terrazzo.' In modern speech *amiâ* has replaced *miâ* < *mirare*, and givn its prefix to the Spanish loan-word. A Latin *t* iz regularly lost between vowels in nativ words: *dio* = *dito*, *majo* = *marito*, *mezuaio* = *misuratore*. The loss ov intervocalic *r* iz cwite modern, and iz lacking in som ov the nehborin Ligurian dialects.

FONO

In Galician we find the verb-ending *-no* az a variant ov *-ron* < *-runt*. Thus *fono* iz uzed several times in Pondal's *Campana d'Anllons* (Coruña, 1895), riming with *dono* (= *dueño*) and *sono* (= *sueño*). Asturian has a corresponding form ritn *fonon* or *fonun*. Thees developments aroze from an extension ov nazality. In the extreem west, *lana* developot thru **lāna* to *lāa* and *lā*. Similarly stresless *-ron* became nazal *-ro*, and the nazalized *r* waz then alterd to *n*, the nearest ordinery nazal sound. Under the influence ov the Spanish sound-sistem, Galician *lā* has become *la* or *lan* (ritn *lan*). Likewize the ending **-nō* became *-no*, in acordance with *orde* and *orfo* beside Portugees *ordem*, *órfão*. Asturian shared with Galician the developments *hominem* > *ome* and *-runt* > **-nō*; the verb-ending, perhaps influenced by forms with distinctiv nazal vowels (az **-ā* < *-ant* beside *-a* < *-at*), has become *-noŋ*, *-nuŋ*, with the final *ŋ* that regularly corresponds to Castilian *n*.¹

Nazalized *r* iz not common in Romanic speech, but we can find evidence ov such a sound outside ov Spain. It miht wel be asumed for Rumanian *fereastră* < *fenestra*, *cunună* < *corōna*, and iz clearly implied by the ritn *nr* hwich ofn replaces *r* < *n* in erly Transil-

¹ Munthe, *Anteckningar om folkmålet i en trakt af vestra Asturien*, p. 17, Upsala, 1887.

vanian, az *buru* = *bunru* = *bun* < *bonus*.² Spanish has *horca*, *horma*, *horno*, agenst French *forme* beside *fourche* and *four*. It seems hardly riht to call modern *forme* bookish, for the same development ov *o* (insted ov the sound *u*) iz found in other words befoar *rm* and *rn*. We may asume the existence ov a nazalized *r* in erly French: it nazalized the sound *u*, hwich later became *ō* > *o* az in *donne* and *couronne*. The nazality ov *r* woud likewise explain *a* (< *ā*) for *e* in *larme*.

SONIDO

Rumanian *sûnet* corresponds to *sonitus*. Hispanic speech developpt the form **sonitus* thru asociación with *auditus*: *habeo auditum illum* **sonitum*.

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² Tiktin, *Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, § 112, Heidelberg, 1905.

REVIEWS

The Source of Wolfram's Willehalm, by Susan Almira Bacon: *Sprache und Dichtung*, Heft 4, Tübingen, 1910, pp. viii, 172.

In 1910 there appeared as volume 4 of the Swiss series, *Sprache und Dichtung*, a brochure entitled *The Source of Wolfram's Willehalm*, by Susan Almira Bacon.¹ It is a pleasure to introduce this book to readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW because it has admirable qualities of scholarship and the merit of unusually clear presentation. The *Willehalm* is not one of Wolfram's important works, and it is valuable principally for the sidelight which it throws upon the French epics of which it is an imitation. The main source was some version of the French poem, *Aliscans*, but Wolfram had fragmentary information about the other poems of the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange. It is the question of the relations of the *Willehalm* to the whole French cycle which Miss Bacon so admirably studies. Her book is of great value to a student of the French poems, as an analysis of its contents will show.

After a succinct résumé of the work already done in the field, the author states the six objects of her discussion, to each of which is consecrated a chapter. The first is: "To examine the indications concerning his source given by Wolfram in *Willehalm*." Starting with the indication that Wolfram received the French text from the Landgrave Herman (*Wh.*, vv. 3 and 8-11), she analyses thirty-six other passages in which Wolfram makes a direct appeal to an authority which may have some connection with a French source, giving for each one, wherever possible, the French parallel. In conclusion she divides them into four categories (p. 31):

A. Eight references which are general and imply no specific correspondence in French sources.

B. Seven references which seem to demand a specific correspondence, and for which none can be found.

C. Three specific references which are explicable by accounting "aventure" to refer to Wolfram's personal inspiration alone and not to his French source, or "diz maere" to mean Wolfram's own poem.

D. Specific references that find a parallel: in some metrical version of *Aliscans* (nine cases and possibly seven more); in some later prose version (one case and perhaps one more); in some branch of the cycle other than *Aliscans* (one case and a possible second).

It is, of course, impossible here to go into detail as to these references, but in general two comments may be made:

1. In the author's division B, it seems that she over-emphasizes the impossibility of finding a source. Of the seven references, the first two referring to the beginning of the first battle of *Aliscans* might find a parallel in the passage in the *Willame*, vv. 150-158, where Vivien and Tedbalt de Berri go out to recon-

¹ A notice of the book was arranged at that time for the ROMANIC REVIEW, but was not completed.

noître the position of the Saracens and Tedbalt is frightened by the great number of ships and tents. The third reference is in connection with Gandalûz—a personage whom Wolfram borrows from his own *Parsival*. The fifth and sixth apply to generalities which might have been in Wolfram's *Aliscans*. There are left only two references which really seem inexplicable.

2. Throughout this whole section of the study it seems that Miss Bacon takes too seriously Wolfram's appeals to authority. Two of the three references which she classes in division C indicate that he uses such an appeal rather loosely. He cites authority very solemnly for saying that Galafrè is as white as a swan and that Josweiz fights for love, two statements that are hardly to be taken seriously. The general impression from the French epics is that the jongleurs attribute the fabrications of their own imaginations to a chronicle or other written source in order to convince their audience. May not Wolfram have done the same thing?

In the same division Miss Bacon gives three references "which seem to indicate that Wolfram took a critical attitude towards his source." The first relates to Guillaume's reception at Louis' court. As Mr. Raymond Weeks has shown (*The Messenger in Aliscans*), there certainly is inconsistency in the treatment of the court incident according to *Aliscans*.² Guillaume goes to Laon to ask aid of Louis. He sets out from Orange clothed and armed in the magnificence of the pagan, Aerofle, and mounted on the famous Arabian horse, Folatise (*Al.*, 2013-2022, 2068). He makes no change, according to the story, except to take off his helmet and hauberk and hang them to his saddle (2282-3). Once arrived at Laon, the squires describe with contempt his torn clothes and broken armor, and particularly do they make fun of his ungainly horse (2287-2309). Whether the messenger were originally Bertram or Guillaume, the logical account of the court scene in the *Willame* has been warped in *Aliscans* by the introduction of inconsistent material in which Guillaume is ill-treated in order to heighten the dramatic effect of Louis' cold reception and ingratitude. A careful comparison of the parallel scenes in the *Willame* and *Aliscans* shows this clearly. These interpolated inconsistencies are so closely parallel to the events of the like scene in the *Siège d'Orange* as reproduced by the *Nerbonesi* that it seems as if there must have been a conscious imitation on the part of the author of some version of the story midway between the *Willame* and *Aliscans*.

Wolfram objected to these inconsistencies and tried to explain the cold reception of Guillaume at Laon. Miss Bacon hardly does justice to the German poet's discrimination. She says:

"There is no real contradiction in *Aliscans*, for in laisse LXII, 2282-3, immediately after Guillaume has left the monastery, we are told that he packed his helmet and his haubert, and in line 2308 it is again implied that he had removed his armor, and 2300-2301 that his garments were torn.

2282 Li quens Guillames pensa de l'exploitier
Son elme torse en son hauberc doblie

² Miss Bacon seems to have reference to this article on page 100, where by a misprint her text reads "that Bernart was the messenger." "Bernart" of course, should be corrected to Bertram.

- 2300 Si garnement n'estoient pas entier
Ains sont derout et devant et derier
Chainte ot l'espee dont li poins est d'or mier
- 2308 S'il fust armés, bien samblast soudoier."

Guillaume's helmet and hauberk are just as visible after he has packed them on the back of his saddle as before, as we see in line 2337. At line 2288, with Guillaume's entrance into Laon, begins the confusion between the well-armed Guillaume who left Orange and the battle-worn Guillaume who is mocked in the court. Later in her book (p. 95 ff.) Miss Bacon returns to the question of this court scene. She summarizes the objections which Klapôtke, following Weeks, makes to the *Aliscans* inconsistencies, and asks the question: "Did Wolfram note the defects in his source and remedy them, or was his version free from them?" This question, which she does not answer, seems rather in contradiction with the statement just quoted as to the logic of the *Aliscans* scene. Miss Bacon's summary of the passage (p. 35) implies the inconsistency of the poem:

"The principal contradiction between the French and German versions, for which we can only surmise a reason, is that he (Guillaume) is armed in *Willehalm* on his arrival at court, unarmed in *Aliscans*. My judgment would be, not that Wolfram's version of *Aliscans* differed at this point from ours, nor that he knew two different versions, but that he wished to make the cold reception which Wilhelm finds, more reasonable. Wilhelm has transgressed court customs by arriving at the palace in armor."

What she says here is true, but might have been clearer had she recognized the inconsistency of *Aliscans* and its plausible connection with the *Siège*.

In connection with these interpolations of the *Siège* in *Aliscans* one might suggest that Wolfram's description of Guibourc's ruse in defending the city of Orange during her husband's absence may also have been an incident of the *Siège* which found its way into Wolfram's version of *Aliscans*. The only parallel now existing for this episode is in the *Nerbonesi* résumé of the events of the lost *Siège*. If one accepts the theory that *Aliscans* borrowed from the *Siège* in these passages of the extant version, one is inclined to believe that Wolfram's *Aliscans* contained this further addition of *Siège* material in the description of Guibourc's ruse. Such a supposition would require more support, but it accounts for the presence in *Aliscans* of this material, which is otherwise difficult to explain.

As a second evidence of critical attitude, Miss Bacon clearly shows (pp. 36-37) Wolfram's change by which the queen has already escaped to her apartments before Guillaume breaks out into the insulting accusations against her (*Al.*, 2772 ff.; *Wh.*, 152, 28 ff.). Miss Bacon says: "A comparison of the French and German indicates in my opinion that the French text used by Wolfram contained these, or similar violent expressions, and that Wolfram refuses to repeat what he found there." His attitude here might be compared with that of the French knightly poet, Herbert Le Duc de Dammartin. In *Foucon de Candie*, Herbert also refuses to reproduce this violent scene and has the queen make her remonstrances from Aix, so that her brother can not make his insulting reply. A comparison of the whole episode of Guillaume's journey to Laon in all its various renderings would form an interesting and helpful study.

Chapter II (pp. 39-85) is "to discuss to what degree it is probable that

Wolfram had heard or read other branches of the cycle to which *Aliscans* belongs." Miss Bacon analyses first the group of French poems, *Li Nerbonois*, *Le Departement Aymeri*, *Guibert d'Andrenas*, which have been thought to have inspired the opening scene of the *Willehalm*.

"Certain it is that Wolfram knew: (1) that Heimrich had seven sons, whereas in *Aliscans* he has only six; (2) that he disinherited them, of which there is no mention in *Aliscans*; (3) that he dismissed them and bade them go to Charlemagne, who would reward them with lands, nothing of the kind in *Aliscans*; (4) that he adopted a godchild in their place, also a blank in *Aliscans*" (pp. 45-46).

Yet, she continues, he certainly did not know these poems in the present version because he substitutes a Bertram as Guillaume's brother in place of Garin, and yet places in the story a Scherins von Pantal, whom he does not admit in the family. (There are hints in the French cycle of a brother, Bertram,—which makes this reference interesting.) Neither does he recognize Schilbert von Tandernas to be the same as the Schilbert whom he mentions as Guillaume's brother. Miss Bacon seems convinced that Wolfram never heard the poems himself, but gained these half-truths through conversation with someone who had heard the French epics. She closes, however, with the rather more cautious statement (p. 52):

"Wolfram combines striking features of the two branches in this passage and is ignorant of equally important points. This inclines me to the belief that he obtained his information either by hearsay or from his version of *Aliscans*; at the same time I do not deny the possibility of his having known a version of *Nerbonois* strikingly different from ours."

This chapter provides a very clear treatment of the puzzling problem of Wolfram's introductory episode.

The next poems to be considered are the *Couronnement Louis*, the *Charroi de Nîmes*, the *Prise d'Orange* and the *Moniage Guillaume*. Miss Bacon's conclusions are the following (p. 85):

"Wolfram could not have known any of them, except *Charroi*, in the form we know them, because of his evident ignorance of characteristic features in them. My inference would be either that Wolfram had oral information about striking incidents in the cycle, and that the *Charroi* was quoted at some length by his informant, or that Wolfram's version of *Aliscans* contained some or all of these allusions. Both alternatives do not exclude one another, both may be true, and in one case the first may be preferred, in an other the second."

The divisions devoted to Wolfram's knowledge of the *Charroi de Nîmes* or of the *Moniage Guillaume* are particularly interesting. It is striking that Wolfram's passage, 298, 13-18, "implies that Willehalm took Nîmes from Tybalt." Miss Bacon's conclusions about the *Moniage Guillaume* do not seem quite clear on one point. In the *Willehalm*, the description of the little house near the moat in which Guillaume spends the night at Orleans is parallel to the description of Bernart's house where Guillaume stays before fighting the giant Ysoré at Paris, as the story is told in the *Moniage Guillaume*. Miss Bacon says (p. 84):

"How are the likenesses between *Moniage Guillaume* II and *Willehalm* to be accounted for? To my thinking by a similarity between the versions of *Aliscans*, with which the two authors were familiar. It is worth noting that

Wolfram indicates that he has authority for his description of Willehalm's lodging: '*sin herberge ist mir gesagt*.' Unless we have proof to the contrary, such a statement should mean that this passage is not the invention of the author. If we assume that Wolfram knew a version of *Moniage* containing the episode at the gate of Paris, would he have transferred it to Orleans with the just quoted introduction?"

Does she mean that such an incident is copied by both the *Moniage Guillaume* and the *Willehalm* from a version of *Aliscans* different from ours? The statements with which she ends her consideration of this poem are most suggestive (p. 84):

"A comparison of the two versions of *Moniage Guillaume* with each other makes it easier to believe in a version of *Aliscans* which, while telling the same story as the versions which we know, may have been widely different from them. In my judgment the relation between *Willehalm* and *Moniage Guillaume II* increases the probability of the existence of a version of *Aliscans* unknown to us, containing the points of similarity between *Moniage II* and the German epic."

Chapter III (pp. 85-106): "To what degree is it probable that his version of *Aliscans* contained material to be found in later prose versions of *Aliscans* or in *Chançon de Willame*, but not in the metrical versions of *Aliscans*?" Miss Bacon answers this question for the *Chançon de Willame* as follows (p. 97):

"It is clear that Wolfram did not know *Chançon de Willame*, as it stands, and there is no convincing proof that any likeness between *Chançon de Willame* and *Willehalm* is due to a version of *Aliscans* with features peculiar to *Chançon de Willame*, but it is quite possible that Wolfram's source had an account of Vivian's death with the similarities between *Chançon de Willame* and *Willehalm* noted above under '4.'"

The similarities referred to in the scene of Vivian's death which Miss Bacon notes, are two sets of parallel lines. She passes over the fact that the character of the two scenes is strongly religious, rather theological, in contrast to the heroic, martial quality of the *Aliscans* scene. She notes two other similarities, but does not give them sufficient prominence: (1) The order of Guibourc's questions about her nephews; (2) the order of the tests by which she seeks to recognize Guillaume when he arrives at the gate of Orange. Miss Bacon quotes (p. 92) Klapötke's objections to the *Aliscans* scene, that Guibourc asks "three times after the fate of her nephews, and only at the third time receives the correct answer that Vivian is dead and the others are prisoners. How does he know, besides, that his nephews are prisoners?" In the *Willame* Guibourc asks about Vivian, about Bertram, about Guiot, about the other three nephews, and in answer to each of the four questions, receives the correct answer. In the *Willehalm* she asks a direct question, dividing the squires into three groups and receives the only answer that Guillaume is able logically to give—that Vivian is dead, since in the *Willehalm* and in *Aliscans* both, no mention is made as in the *Willame* of his seeing the capture of his nephews. Miss Bacon continues: "Wolfram may have reduced the repeated questions of Guibourc in *Aliscans* to a question divided into three parts, because he felt the effect was lost by repetition." Is it not better to assume that Wolfram's *Aliscans* contained a logical account, of which the type is seen in the *Willame*? Again, one important similarity she puts in a note (p. 91):

"When William is seeking admission to Orange after the first battle, his

wife tests him in two ways, before she will let him in, one is that he must show his valor by freeing christian captives, the other that he must show the scar on his nose. The order of the tests is the same in *Willehalm* and in *Chancun de Willame*, that is: he sets the captives free first, and then removes his helmet to show the scar on his nose. In *Aliscans* he shows the scar first and then sets the captives free. A sense of logical sequence may have induced Wolfram to change what he found in his source. It does not seem probable that Gyburg after recognizing the scar on his face, would insist on a second test."

Is it not more probable that Wolfram's source like the *Willame* had these tests in their logical sequence? A third similarity between the *Willame* and *Willehalm* has been noted by Mr. Raymond Weeks (*Modern Philology*, vol. II, No. 1 (1904), p. 6):

"While we are speaking of the name of the new epic (of the *Willame*), it is interesting to note that we can now see why Wolfram von Eschenbach did not call his poem *Aliscans*. The original which he was translating evidently bore the title *La Chanson de Guillaume*, called familiarly the *Guillaume*, as we say the *Roland*. He remained faithful to the title, and called his translation the *Willehalm*."

One may suppose, of course, that Wolfram, copying *Aliscans*, deliberately changed the title from the name of the battle to that of the hero, and thus unwittingly took the title of the older redaction, unknown to him. This would seem, however, an unlikely coincidence, especially since Wolfram emphasized the location of the battle in the Aliscamps at Arles more than the French authors. Hence this title, which Miss Bacon does not even mention, provides perhaps the strongest proof that Wolfram's source was closely related to the *Willame*.

The *Storie Nerbonesi* offers as its most important parallel passage the description of the honorable burial of Guibourc's Saracen relatives after the second battle of Aliscans. This may have been in a common source, or may have been the fruit of Wolfram's general tolerance toward Saracens, which is in marked contrast to the attitude of the French epics, except *Foucon de Candie*. The prose version of *Aliscans* offers striking parallels with the *Willehalm*, and strengthens the argument of the different versions of *Aliscans*:

"The probabilities are strongly in favor of a version antedating *Willehalm* containing the Orleans scene, more like the one in the prose romance than those in our *Aliscans* manuscripts, and containing an interview between Desramés and Guiborc" (p. 105).

Miss Bacon begins her fourth chapter with the statement that some of the remaining divergencies "can be traced with a certain degree of probability to four written sources: (1) the *Kaiserchronik*; (2) the open letter of Michel Mouriez, Archbishop of Arles, addressed to all Christendom; (3) the *Guide de St. Jacques*; and (4) the German *Rolantsliet*." This chapter (pp. 106-125) by its acute, direct reasoning gives an interesting theory as to one striking originality of Wolfram's poem, that is, the repeated mention of the sarcophagi on the battlefield of Aliscamp:

"Let us bear in mind that we have good evidence for believing that Wolfram was familiar with the German *Rolantsliet*, and that the *Kaiserchronik* is probably, at least in part, also from the pen of the Pfaffen Konrad. There is a passage in the *Kaiserchronik* which would account for Wolfram's idea that God provided beautiful coffins for the christian dead after a battle near Arles" (p. 111).

According to the *Kaiserchronik* by a miracle Charlemagne found all the Christians buried in these beautiful sarcophagi.

"Now add the information of the circular letter. The archbishop of Arles states that in the great burial ground of Aliscamps near Arles are buried those who shed their blood as martyrs under St. William and his nephew Vivian and St. Charlemagne.

"Charlemagne and the geographical situation form connecting links between the two stories.

"St. William and his nephew Vivian connect de Mouriez's letter with the epic of *Aliscans*" (p. 113).

The logic seems clear and the study of this puzzling question is one of the best parts of Miss Bacon's book.

The problem of Chapter V (pp. 125-166) is "to show to what degree the extant manuscripts of *Aliscans* were like or unlike Wolfram's text of *Aliscans*." First of all Wolfram's confessions that he was unable to either read or write are probably sincere, because of the insistent phonetic Germanization of proper nouns. "Would a man who could read and write put down *Puzzât* for *Beauchant*, *Terramêr* for *Desramés*, *Gwigrimanz* for *Guinemans*, etc.?" "If there were not such a plain tendency to the German pronunciation of French words, the problem would not be so simple." For the same reason, the man who read the French text to Wolfram and the scribe who took down the *Willehalm* could not have been one and the same person. Wolfram probably knew French well enough to be able to understand the French poems read to him.

After a detailed and careful analysis of the variant readings of the *Aliscans* manuscripts, Miss Bacon concludes with the following summary:

"The comparison of the manuscripts leads to the conclusion that Wolfram's manuscript was more like M than like any one other manuscript, but that his manuscript contained many lines missing in M and still preserved in other versions, also, that in a number of cases, other manuscripts have preserved the reading in Wolfram's version, where M has a different reading" (p. 166).

Chapter VI contains a summary of the points already made. As will be seen from the above quotations and analysis, Miss Bacon has done a great deal of careful, interesting work. She has kept an open mind, and her conclusions are free from dogmatism. One sometimes wishes that she were a little dogmatic. She hesitates to write, in definite statement, suggestions which her analysis has brought out so clearly as to make them pragmatically certain. But that is to err on the right side.

Her final analysis of the extant manuscripts of *Aliscans* needs very much to be completed by some attempt to correlate all her observations as to what existed in Wolfram's version, to reconstitute his version—not so much in the verbal readings (which she does study in connection with the *Aliscans* manuscripts) as along the broad general lines of narrative. In the final summary she says: "I have tried to set up the opposite poles of possible opinion with regard to Wolfram's source; as an expression of my own opinion, I would choose a middle ground." What is that middle ground? It seems as if, at the end of the book, a reader should have a more definite answer to this question. Moreover, two problems as to Wolfram's sources still stare one in the face: (1) Why did Wolfram give such prominence to Tybalt? We know that Thibaut was eliminated from the second half of the *Willame* and hence largely from

Aliscans, because in *Willame*, line 675, Vivian says that he killed Thibaut at the long siege of Orange. Did the dramatic possibilities of Thibaut, the French Menelaus, appeal to Wolfram as to Herbert Le Duc, the French knightly poet, so that he extended *Aliscans* 1776 to make Thibaut present throughout the whole story? (2) Miss Bacon proposes a most acute theory to the effect that a misreading of *Aliscans* 32-34, manuscript M, produced the puzzling figure of Mile, Guillaume's sister's son. However, if Wolfram misunderstood *Aliscans* 34, how did he know the old tradition extant only in *Foucon de Candie* and the first half of the *Willame*, that Vivian was a son of a sister of Guillaume (*Wh.*, 4723, or 484, for instance)? In the later versions he is spoken of as son of Garin or Beuve.

Miss Bacon says in her preface:

"A plan was made for a study to be divided into four chapters: the first to contain a comparison of *Willehalm* with its Old French sources; the second, parallel summaries of *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*; the third, a detailed analysis of all differences between *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*; and the fourth, a critical comparison of the literary value of the two poems, based on the preceding work"—"It is the first chapter alone, which is offered here to those interested in the subject."

Perhaps she means to take up these wider questions in her later studies. At any rate this first chapter, with its careful, well-ordered presentation, leads one to await with interest Miss Bacon's continuation of her admirable work.

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De Pascal à Chateaubriand: Les défenseurs français du christianisme de 1670 à 1802. Par ALBERT MONOD. Paris, librairie, Felix Alcan, 1916, in-8, 606 pages.

M. Albert Monod a présenté à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris comme thèse principale pour le doctorat ès lettres, une étude sur l'apologétique chrétienne depuis les *Pensées* de Pascal jusqu'au *Génie du Christianisme* de Chateaubriand. Ce sujet est très voisin de celui qu'a traité le regretté Pierre Maurice Masson dans son brillant ouvrage sur la *Religion de Jean Jacques Rousseau*. Il serait injuste d'opposer P. M. Masson à M. Monod. Tout honneur rendu au talent délicat, robuste et vif de P. M. Masson, le sujet qu'il avait choisi avait par lui même un attrait qui portait son auteur: la peinture des manifestations et des transformations de la sensibilité religieuse, si peu que l'on ait de sens de la vie et des choses du cœur, prend aisément un intérêt pathétique. Mais l'histoire et l'analyse des constructions logiques par lesquelles les théologiens ont essayé de défendre la vérité de la religion, la description de toutes les fortifications scolastiques et de toute la stratégie dialectique qu'ils ont opposées à la libre pensée conquérante, ont quelque chose d'ingrat et de rebarbatif; on ne saurait vraiment reprocher à M. Monod de ne pas avoir répandu de grâces et de joie sur une telle matière. Songez que des 950 apologies qu'il a enregistrées de 1670 à 1802, et qu'il a lues à peu près toutes, il n'y en a pas demi-douzaine où l'on puisse dire qu'il y ait du talent; et se n'est jamais un talent de premier ordre, une fois Malebranche et Fénelon passés, et Jean Jacques Rousseau excepté.

Il valait pourtant la peine de regarder cette masse d'écrits presque tous oubliés et dignes de l'être. L'intérêt historique remplaçait l'intérêt littéraire. Ces médiocres ou méchantes apologies de la religion sont des documents précieux pour l'histoire des idées religieuses. Comment les théologiens catholiques et protestants et les philosophes chrétiens ont-ils défendu la foi et les dogmes contre le progrès de l'analyse philosophique, du positivisme scientifique et de la critique historique, et contre le débordement de l'incrédulité? Quelles positions ont-ils prises successivement et abandonnées? Quelles concessions ont-ils faites à l'esprit du siècle? Dans quelle mesure en ont-ils été touchés eux-mêmes? Et surtout comment la religion, entre leurs mains, est-elle passée peu à peu de l'état de croyance rationnelle qui se démontre, et de l'état de fait historique qui a de sûrs témoins, à l'état de sentiment ou d'expérience qui s'affirme? Comment l'apologie chrétienne a-t-elle été enfin amenée à trouver le terrain sur lequel elle est invincible, en renonçant à proposer des preuves à l'esprit, et en se contentant de déclarer la certitude du cœur? La réalité de la vie religieuse devient ainsi la grande preuve de la religion: preuve qui n'en est pas une évidemment; mais preuve qui dégoûte et dispense des vraies preuves, difficiles à administrer. Ce resserrement et ce recul progressif de l'apologétique qui se retranche enfin dans le réduit du sentiment subjectif, voilà l'objet et l'intérêt de l'étude de M. Monod. Il a porté la lumière dans un sujet triste et ardu. Il a employé beaucoup d'érudition, d'exactitude et de bon sens à poser et à discuter tous les problèmes qu'il rencontrait. Protestant, comme Masson était catholique, il a su être comme lui, autant que lui, impartial et serein, équitable à la fois aux catholiques et aux incrédules, avec plus de sympathie pour ceux-là que pour ceux-ci comme on pouvait s'y attendre. Il a analysé sûrement, clairement une multitude d'œuvres dont il a su en quelques lignes faire saillir les traits et les directions caractéristiques: il faut un véritable tour d'esprit, en même temps qu'un rare maîtrise de soi pour entrer ainsi dans la pensée d'autrui. De cette masse d'analyses se dégagent avec netteté les lignes générales du développement de l'apologétique: les diverses méthodes, et les moments de chaque méthode, et les raisons qui la recommandent ou la font désertir apparaissent en pleine clarté. Cet ouvrage austère est l'un des plus substantiels et des plus utiles qui aient été écrits sur le XVII^e siècle.

On comprendra qu'il y aurait bien des points sur lesquels une discussion pourrait s'engager. Je n'ai pas le loisir d'entrer dans le détail. Je dirai seulement que M. Monod me paraît moderniser Pascal à l'excès, et ne pas donner à toutes les parties de sa démonstration la valeur qu'il donnait lui-même. Je dirai aussi que pour nous parler de Voltaire et de sa critique, M. Monod emploie assez souvent des expressions qui me paraissent représenter plutôt son antipathie que sa connaissance: il ne s'en est pas aperçu; et cela n'a pas autrement d'importance. Il faut souhaiter qu'après le catholique Masson et le protestant Monod, un rationaliste d'esprit également large, serein et élevé, repasse une troisième fois sur ce grand sujet. L'accord de trois hommes placés à des points de vue aussi différents, aurait une force singulière. Des gens sincères qui savent rechercher les faits et qui ont l'esprit critique, arrivent à voir les mêmes choses—ils ne diffèrent—et c'est leur droit—que par les qualificatifs dont ils les marquent, et qui sont le dernier refuge de l'émotion subjective dans les travaux scientifiques.

A cet ouvrage considérable M. Albert Monod a joint comme seconde thèse, une *étude sur les manuscrits inédits de Paul Rabaut* suivi du texte de trois sermons annotés (Les sermons de Paul Rabaut, pasteur du Désert, 1738-1785). De 1685 à 1787 le protestantisme a disparu officiellement de France; mais il a vécu. On n'a publié qu'une petite partie des sermons qui ont été prononcés dans les assemblées clandestines. On en possède un plus grand nombre d'inédits. M. Monod, après avoir donné la vie de Paul Rabaut qui fut un des pasteurs les plus courageux et actifs, explique l'intérêt de ses sermons manuscrits; puis il décrit les manuscrits, discute si ce sont des brouillons ou des copies définitives, et enfin date avec beaucoup d'ingéniosité et de précision ceux des sermons qui ne sont pas datés. Il ajoute à ces recherches un catalogue des desseins traités, un index des allusions historiques, et une liste des lieux des assemblées où les sermons furent prêchés.

La seconde partie de la thèse contient une édition de trois des sermons, dont chacun représente un aspect particulier de la prédication de Rabaut. M. Monod a accompagné les textes d'un commentaire curieux, sobre et précis.

Ce petit travail, très bien conduit, où paraissent les mêmes qualités de conscience et de jugement que dans la grande thèse, mérite de n'être pas lu seulement des Protestants. L'histoire littéraire y est intéressée. L'éloquence Calviniste n'a pas en général l'éclat et l'agrément littéraire de la prédication catholique. Cependant elle a eu à toute époque des qualités de force et de sérieux moral: elle a su garder dans la persécution même une belle tenue de modération et de loyauté; et c'est une inexactitude autant qu'une injustice que de la traiter comme si elle n'avait rien produit entre Saurin et Adolphe Monod.

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Teatro Antiguo Español: I. Luis Vélez de Guevara, *La Sarrana de la Vera*, publicada por R. Menéndez Pidal y Maria Goyri de Menéndez Pidal. Madrid, 1916. Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas: Centro de Estudios Históricos. 8°, vii + 176 pp.

In the "Advertencia" prefixed to this volume we are informed that it is the purpose of the "Centro de Estudios Históricos" to publish "those dramatic works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which, on account of their interest, should no longer remain inedited, or which deserve to be reprinted."

The *Teatro Antiguo Español* makes a most auspicious beginning with this comedia of Luis Vélez de Guevara, which is here published for the first time from the autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional. This manuscript is dated at Valladolid, "a 7 [month omitted] de 1603." This date, however, the editors prove conclusively to be incorrect. According to a letter of Juan Vélez, son of the poet, the latter was absent from Spain from 1599 to 1605. Besides, it was the custom of Vélez de Guevara to write, at the beginning of each act of his plays, the names of the members of his family at the time. In this play we find the names: Luys, Ursola, Francisco, Juan, Antonio. Of these Juan was born in 1611 and Antonio in 1613. The manuscript is therefore of the year 1613, or is subsequent to this year. This date is of importance for the study of the origins of the play and of its imitations.

Lope de Vega wrote a comedia on the same subject and bearing the same

title, which he mentions in the first edition of his *Peregrino en su Patria*, and which, accordingly, must have been written in 1603 or earlier. Both plays are founded on a legend of Estremadura which has been preserved in ballad form, of which twenty-one versions, the earliest of the seventeenth century, are known to the editors.

Especially interesting, in the "Observaciones" by the editors, is the chapter devoted to a comparison of the plays of Lope and Guevara. Both poets have written much better plays; Lope's *comedia*, as the editors observe, is, in spite of much very fluent and excellent verse, one of the poorest that he has written. Another very interesting chapter discusses the other dramatic works "de asunto análogo a las de Vélez y Lope." The whole concludes with some excellent notes and a metrical scheme of the *comedia*. The volume, which is very handsomely printed, is a model of careful, scholarly editing.

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NOTES AND NEWS

The John G. White Collection of Folk-lore, Oriental and Mediaeval Literature, owned by the Cleveland Public Library, has just received an interesting Italian version of Barlaam and Joasaph, information about which is solicited from the readers of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

The fundamental study of this romance was made by E. Kuhn (*Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der K. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Bd. XX, Abt. 1, 1894). According to Kuhn (p. 61), the Italian texts fall roughly into two classes: a fuller form, whose title begins "Storia," and a briefer, called "Vita." Of the editions of the "Vita" known to Kuhn, the oldest, except for an undated fifteenth century text in the Trivulzian library, was published by Bindoni at Venice in 1539. The White copy, a "Vita" text, was issued from the same press, but in 1524. Now the first printed edition of the "Storia" form did not appear till 1734 (there is a copy in the White collection). The Cleveland copy, therefore, appears to be earlier than any other dated Italian edition. (It may be added that Harvard and the Library of Congress possess no Italian edition earlier than the eighteenth century.)

Furthermore, Kuhn says that, though the MSS. of the "Vita" call King Barachias "Alfanos," this name is found in none of the few editions to which he had access. It is used, however, in the White copy.

Into the details of the text there has been no leisure to go; but on the surface the White copy appears to be the oldest dated Italian edition on record, and to be unknown to bibliographers. Perhaps some reader of the *ROMANIC REVIEW* will be able to throw further light upon it.

GORDON W. THAYER

Professor Ernest Langlois, despite the discouragements of failing eyesight, has published for the Société des Anciens Textes Français the first volume of an edition of the *Roman de la Rose*. The volume is entirely given over to the Introduction.

Persons who desire to have literary (rather than paleographical) research done at the Bibliothèque Nationale, cannot do better than to consult M. Jean Vic of that Library. He is a scholar of distinction, both in French and Spanish literatures, as the recent numbers of the *Revue du Dix-huitième Siècle* testify, and is a réformé de la guerre. M. Vic can be adrest at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

It may interest those who purchast copies of the translation of Giraud's *French Miracle and French Civilization*, to know that over 1200 copies have been sold. A draft for 2000 francs has been sent to M. Boutroux, President of the Association des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, for the orphans of French teachers. This gift is in memory of Michel Lanson, son of Professor Lanson.

If the sales of the book continue during the year, another thousand or 1500 francs will be realized. The translators desire hereby to express their appreciation to those who have aided the cause and made the venture a success.

